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Peace News

US lecturer must go — Brooke

Deportation without explanation

"There are writers and artists . . . who want to write or paint in the United Kingdom - and what better place can there be for the practice of either of those arts? - and who can maintain themselves while they do it. . . . The time has come when we might take a little more helpful and less restrictive line in welcoming these people to our shores" - Mr R. A. Butler, then Home Secretary, November 20, 1958.

Mr Henry Brooke, the Home Secretary, has decided that Mr Bert Bensen, an American lecturer in psychology and a supporter of CND, must leave the country. In spite of representations made on Mr Bensen's behalf by Mrs Judith Hart MP, the Home Office has refused to give any reasons for the decision.

Mr Bensen came to Britain in 1961, originally on a three-month tourist visa. This was renewed several times, the last time being in October last year, for four months. When his visa expired on February 20, Mr Bensen applied for a further extension but this was refused. He was given no reason for this decision

"it would not be in the public interest for him to remain in this country." No reason was given why Mr Bensen's further stay in this country was not "in the public interest."

When *Peace News* asked the Home Office why Mr Bensen had to leave the country, the reply was: "The Home Secretary has considered the representations made and has decided that Mr Bensen must leave the country." Asked whether it was normal to ask aliens to leave without giving them any reasons, a Home Office official said it was.

Mr Bensen wishes to stay in this country to teach, write and to do research. If Mr Brooke has a good reason for deport-

ing him, he should state it. As it is, Mr Brooke refuses to give any reason for his decision, neither Mr Bensen nor anyone else can tell whether Mr Brooke's reasons are valid, whether they are based on accurate information, or indeed whether Mr Brooke has any reason at all. To deport someone is to exert considerable control over his life and might have a serious adverse effect on his career. To do this in the conditions of secrecy that now exist is the action of a dictator.

There is a particularly worrying aspect of this case. Mr Bensen has actively supported CND and the Committee of 100. Unless Mr Brooke makes public his reasons for deporting Mr Bensen, it will be reasonable to suspect that his decision has something to do with these activities. Is it now government policy that no foreigner may protest publicly in Britain against nuclear weapons without running the risk of being deported?

long ago Mr Brooke decided that it was not in the public interest for us to meet Lenny Bruce, the American comedian. The Foreign Office decided that the Berliner Ensemble, the theatre company from East Germany, should not come to Britain (this decision was taken in the interests of NATO rather than of the British public: NATO has now, fortunately, relaxed its rules on who we should be allowed to meet).

It is time the whole question of government control over who comes into Britain was publicly debated. As *Peace News* went to press Mr Eric Lubbock MP had tabled a question for the Home Secretary, asking him to give reasons for his decision in the Bensen case. Mrs Judith Hart MP was to seek a House of Commons debate to ask what the attitude of the Home Office is towards people from abroad who take part in British politics, especially those interested in pacifism and non-violence; what

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Mr Bensen came to Britain in 1961, originally on a three-month tourist visa. This was renewed several times, the last time being in October last year, for four months. When his visa expired on February 20, Mr Bensen applied for a further extension but this was refused. He was given no reason for this decision and was told that he must leave the country by April 30.

Mr Ivan Geffen, a solicitor, took up Mr Bensen's case with the Home Office on April 24 and was told only that the visa was not being renewed because

November 20, 1958.

"it would not be in the public interest for him to remain in this country." No reason was given why Mr Bensen's further stay in this country was not "in the public interest."

When *Peace News* asked the Home Office why Mr Bensen had to leave the country, the reply was: "The Home Secretary has considered the representations made and has decided that Mr Bensen must leave the country." Asked whether it was normal to ask aliens to leave without giving them any reasons, a Home Office official said it was.

Mr Bensen wishes to stay in this country to teach, write and to do research. If Mr Brooke has a good reason for deporting him, he should make it public. If he hasn't, then he should allow him to stay. Mr Bensen has already had to give up one job because of the Home Office refusal to extend his visa and has been unable to take up an offer of further

whether Mr Brooke has any reason at all. To deport someone is to exert considerable control over his life and might have a serious adverse effect on his career. To do this in the conditions of secrecy that now exist is the action of a dictator.

There is a particularly worrying aspect of this case. Mr Bensen has actively supported CND and the Committee of 100. Unless Mr Brooke makes public his reasons for deporting Mr Bensen, it will be reasonable to suspect that his decision has something to do with these activities. Is it now government policy that no foreigner may protest publicly in Britain against nuclear weapons without running the risk of being deported? Is it Mr Bensen's concern with non-violence and problems of war and peace that is "not in the public interest"?

This is not the first time that the Government has decided what foreigners are fit for the British people to meet. Not

Britain (this decision was taken in the interests of NATO rather than of the British public: NATO has now, fortunately, relaxed its rules on who we should be allowed to meet).

It is time the whole question of government control over who comes into Britain was publicly debated. As *Peace News* went to press Mr Eric Lubbock MP had tabled a question for the Home Secretary, asking him to give reasons for his decision in the Bensen case. Mrs Judith Hart MP was to seek a House of Commons debate to ask what the attitude of the Home Office is towards people from abroad who take part in British politics, especially those interested in pacifism and non-violence; what the Home Secretary considers to be against the interests of the state; and why, when no question of security is involved, no reasons are given when aliens are deported. We hope Mr Brooke will be pressed hard to give answers to these questions.

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Starving out the Radfan tribesmen

British soldiers fighting against dissident tribesmen in the South Arabian Federation set fire to food stocks in abandoned villages in the Radfan area last Sunday, according to a report by David Holden in Monday's *Guardian*. The British and Federation armies now control most of the food-growing areas of the tribesmen and are putting an "economic squeeze" on the rebel forces: in other words, they are trying to starve them out.

Supplies to the tribesmen from outside

sources, Mr Holden reported, are thought to have been reduced "to a trickle," and he went on:

"British officers place some store also in the fact that the year's modest but abrupt rains have now arrived and if tribesmen do not soon get back to their lands to sow crops they will be in serious trouble later in the year."

However, it seems that "men, women and children of the Radfan tribes are

still managing to maintain themselves in the mountains." Mr Holden's phrase, "will be in serious trouble," presumably means "are likely to starve." We don't know what "still manage somehow to maintain themselves" means, but it sounds like a euphemism for something very unpleasant. On the same page of the same issue *The Guardian* reported that the Soviet Union was sending fifty technical experts

Troops of the South Arabian Federation climbing the Radfan mountain range.

to the Yemen, just across the border from the South Arabian Federation, to help the republican government there which Britain doesn't even recognise. Once again the West has lost a propaganda point to the Communist world - and has deserved to.



I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

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needed for the new Editor of Peace News, as from August (but would book now if necessary). Self-contained flat or house, furnished or unfurnished, minimum two bedrooms, London area. Suggestions and offers please to the General Manager, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N.1.

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Coming events

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Diary

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select from notices sent in. To make the service as complete as possible, we urge organisers to:

1. Send entries to arrive not later than first post Monday (Friday preferred).
2. Include date, town, time, place (hall, street), nature of event, speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

To publicise full details, book a classified or displayed advertisement.

Remember to order copies of Peace News for your advertised meeting: Sale or Return. From: Circulation Dept., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

5 June, Friday

BIRMINGHAM. 7.30 p.m. La Bohème's Coffee Bar, Aston St (opp. Fire Stn). C'ttee of 100 working group. Speaker Peter Moule.

BIRMINGHAM. 7.45 p.m. The Salutation, Snow Hill. Jazz - all profits to CND

BRIGHTON. 1 p.m. Friends Mtg House, Ship St. Picnic lunch and discussion. Tea provided, bring own food. In aid of Friends relief work overseas.

BRISTOL 4. 7 p.m. 110 West Town Lane, Bristol. John Hellier on "Peace and the Schools." PPU.

LINCOLN. 8 p.m. Agriculture House, Park St. June CND mtg. Speaker: Dick Taverne, MP.

LONDON W.C.1. 6 p.m. French Church,

JUMBLE AND HELPERS wanted. Committee of 100. LAD 8748.

SELL PEACE NEWS. Distributors and sellers wanted in every district, group or college. Poster and publicity leaflets available free. Please write Circulation Manager, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd, London N.1.

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NORFOLK COAST. Woodbine Guest House (vegetarian), Sea Palling, quiet village near Broads, marvellous sands. Informal atmosphere, generous home cooking. Send s.a.e. or phone Hickling 236. Some vacancies August.

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CONTACT - a South African liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 8s 9d, 12 months 17s. Box 1979, Cape Town, S.A.

LIBERTE, the French pacifist monthly. 16s a year post free from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

6 June, Saturday

CAMBRIDGE. 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. and 2-4 p.m. Rose Crescent (Market Sq). Peace News selling.

CROYDON. 2.30 p.m. Catholic Ch Hall, Bingham Road, Addiscombe. Jumble sale, adm. 3d. Offers of help and jumble to Croydon 5803. CND.

LEICESTER. 10 a.m. Gaumont Cinema, Market Place. Peace News selling. Contact David Lane, 1 Wentworth Road. Phone 21958.

LONDON N.W.8. 7.30 p.m. Gateway School, Capland St (off Lisson Grove). Dance with "The Hawks." Adm 3s. YCND.

LONDON S.E.3. 10 a.m. 141 Woolacombe Road, Kidbrooke. All-day leafleting, literature selling, canvassing. Phone LEE 6249. Fellowship Party.

LONDON S.W.1. 3 p.m. Foreign Office, Whitehall. Demonstration against bombings and repression in Aden. Young Socialists.

OXFORD. 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Carfax. Peace News Selling. Contact Andrew Green, Magdalen College.

7 June, Sunday

LONDON N.W.8. 3.30 p.m. Labour Party Rms, 169 Lisson Gr. YCND mtg. Speaker: C. Gimblett, Young Conservative chairman.

MAIDSTONE. 2 p.m. Mechanics Hall. Kent

Situations vacant

PEACE NEWS requires a new secretary in the editorial department. The post requires a capacity to keep a wide variety of work under control and meticulous care with general office routine and filing. Shorthand typing essential. Applications by June 15 to the Editor, 5 Caledonian Road, N.1, giving details of age, experience, etc.

RESIDENT HOUSEKEEPER required for retired dental surgeon (semi-invalid) and adult son. Other help kept. Apply Mrs Rees, Tul 4347 Mon-Fri, 9-4.

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SINGLE ROOM wanted in London, from middle of August onwards. Box 306.

14 June, Sunday

LONDON N.1. 3.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross. Anthony Bates: "Memory." Order of the Great Companions.

15 June, Monday

NORTH SHIELDS. 7.30 p.m. Methodist Memorial Church Hall, Albion Road. Donald Groom on "Creative Peacemaking" with film "Deadly the Harvest." CND.

16 June, Tuesday

LONDON S.W.1 7.30 p.m. House of Commons. "The contribution of the neutral nations to peace." Speakers: Fenner Brockway, MP, and ambassadors from Mexico, Sweden, Ceylon and Senegal. Labour Peace Fellowship.

Welcome to Tony and Betty

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5 June, Friday

BIRMINGHAM. 7.30 p.m. La Bohème Coffee Bar, Aston St (opp. Fire Stn). C'ttee of 100 working group. Speaker Peter Moule.

BIRMINGHAM. 7.45 p.m. The Salutation, Snow Hill. Jazz - all profits to CND

BRIGHTON. 1 p.m. Friends Mtg House, Ship St. Picnic lunch and discussion. Tea provided, bring own food. In aid of Friends relief work overseas.

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LINCOLN. 8 p.m. Agriculture House, Park St. June CND mtg. Speaker: Dick Taverner, MP.

LONDON W.C.1. 6 p.m. French Church, Leicester Place. Mass for peace followed by a talk on "Pacem in Terris" by Fr J. Foster in the adjacent Charles Peguy Centre. PAX.

5-7 June, Fri-Sun

LINCOLN Theological College. "Christian Political Action," a Christian Action conference. Speakers: Canon L. John Collins, Canon Stanley Evans, Mr Christopher Hollis, Miss Valerie Pitt. Details from 2 Amen Court, E.C.4.

MANDELA PETITION

To the Secretary General, United Nations, New York, USA

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned, urge you to use all the influence at your disposal to save the lives of the four members of the African National Congress, who are now under sentence of death in South Africa. We are also extremely concerned for the lives of the Africans now on trial in Pretoria, particularly Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Walter Sisulu.

We sincerely hope that there is still time for reason to prevail and for a peaceful solution to be found in that country.

It is for these reasons that we are appealing to you to intercede on behalf of those Africans already sentenced, and those now on trial

Respectfully yours,

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LONDON N.W.8. 7.30 p.m. Gateway School, Capland St (off Lisson Grove). Dance with "The Hawks." Adm 3s. YCND.

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7 June, Sunday

LONDON N.W.8. 3.30 p.m. Labour Party Rms, 169 Lisson Gr. YCND mtg. Speaker: C. Gimblett. Young Communist chairman.

MAIDSTONE. 2 p.m. Mechanics Hall. Kent CND AGM. Speaker: Olive Gibbs.

9 June, Tuesday

CROYDON. 2.30 p.m. Friends Mtg House, Park Lane. Mrs Nellie Weiss: "Technical Assistance given by the UN." Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

12 June, Friday

BIRMINGHAM. 7.45 p.m. The Salutation, Snow Hill. Jazz - all profits to CND.

BRIGHTON. 1 p.m. Friends Mtg House Ship St. Picnic lunch and discussion. Tea provided, bring own food. In aid of Friends relief work overseas.

LONDON W.1. 7.30 p.m. 11 North Audley St (Marble Arch tube). Study group on Egypt and Israel. Speakers from those countries. London C.100.

13 June, Saturday

LEICESTER. 10 a.m. Gaumont Cinema, Market Place. Peace News Selling. Contact David Lane, 1 Wentworth Road, phone 21958.

LONDON S.E.3. 10 a.m. 141 Woolacombe Road, Kidbrooke. All-day leafleting, literature selling, canvassing. Phone LEE 6349. Fellowship Party.

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Welcome to Tony and Betty

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Friday June 19 at 7 p.m.

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Editorial

Peter Moule

March of victory from Marathon to Athens

May 17, 1964, was the occasion of the largest peace march to have been held in Greece. Tens of thousands marched the full 26 miles from Marathon to Athens, and it was estimated that 300,000 took part in the final rally. The demonstration was organised by an ad hoc committee containing many other bodies besides the organisers of last year's march, the Bertrand Russell Youth Society for Nuclear Disarmament. The organising committee included the Gregory Lambrakis Committee, the Greek Peace Committee, the National Union of Greek Students, and the Greek Committee for Peace and Friendship in the Balkans.

Invitations to take part in the march were sent to the main British peace organisations, but none responded. Because of this it is worth recalling the events in Greece and England over the last year for the benefit of those who did not think it worthwhile to send representatives.

Late in 1962, inspired by the work of Bertrand Russell and the British nuclear disarmament movement, a small group of young people in Greece formed the Bertrand Russell Youth Society for Nuclear Disarmament. They proposed to hold a peace march from Marathon to Athens, but the Karamanlis Government banned it. Nevertheless the Russell Committee went ahead as planned. About 2,000 people were arrested, among them a group of British nuclear disarmers including Pat Pottle, who was deported and banned from Greece for life.

The only person who completed the 26-mile march was a Greek independent MP, Gregory Lambrakis. Two months later, in Salonika, he was murdered. Well over half a million people took part in the procession at his funeral.

The murder of Lambrakis and the



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The murder of Lambrakis and the demonstrations organised in England at the time of Queen Frederika's state visit were largely responsible for the downfall of the Karamanlis Government, which made possible the subsequent release of political prisoners and the social and political changes.

It was because no organisation responded to the Greek invitation that Pat Pottle, Dennis Gould, Douglas Brewood Jnr and I decided to go.

Because of the ban on Pat Pottle and the refusal last summer to let the Committee of 100 convoy enter Greece, we decided that the only hope we had of getting into Greece was to go without any advance publicity. The route we decided on was overland by car to Italy, and then by car ferry to Corfu. We chose this obscure route because we wanted to demonstrate in Athens, and not at the border or at an embassy.

On our arrival at Corfu, Pat Pottle was detained by the police on the instructions of the Minister of the Interior and deported back to Italy. The rest of us were allowed to continue our journey to Athens.

When we reached Athens on the evening of Friday, May 15, we made contact with the organisers of the march, who immediately arranged a press conference for us. The next day the march committee arranged an interview between us and a minister to discuss Pat Pottle's deportation. He said that the whole thing had been a bureaucratic mistake and that Pat Pottle was free to enter Greece at any time. The march committee immediately contacted Pat in Rome and made arrangements for him to fly to Athens that night.

The march was due to start at 4 a.m. on Sunday. During the night a burning torch was carried by relay from the Acropolis to Marathon. Dennis Gould carried the torch for one of the 42 kilometres covered by the relay.

It is difficult to describe the almost revolutionary atmosphere about the



march. It was a march of victory, victory for a people who after years of political struggle were now able to express themselves. This was evident in every face and in every action on the march. The feeling lasted for the whole 26 miles: even when an hour-long tropical rainstorm turned the road into a river the marchers continued on their way to Athens singing and dancing.

All parts of Greece were represented on the march; coaches had been arriving in Marathon since early Saturday night, and hundreds slept out all night. By 4 a.m. it was impossible to get within two miles of Marathon by car.

The march was led by Miki Theodorakis, the composer, and ourselves - and for the first three miles by the other foreign delegates. There was no comparison between this march and the Aldermaston march. There were no marshals to tell us to keep in threes: we went straight across the road when we left Marathon, and that is how we finished in Athens.

There was a tremendous welcome for the march in every village; the villagers lined the road cheering and clapping, and they presented us with huge bouquets of flowers. Some villages had big banners across the road welcoming the march.

There were a number of stops, the most impressive being at Gregory Lambrakis's house, where the march stood in silence for five minutes. The overriding emotional experience for us all was the feeling of all those on the march towards Gregory Lambrakis; it is hard to describe, but if you can imagine

thousands of people chanting "Lambrakis lives, Lambrakis lives, Lambrakis marches with us," it gives some idea of the tremendous feeling towards him. It was an experience we shall never forget.

Prisoners who had been released on the Friday after 25 years marched the full 26 miles; a woman of 78, whose sons had been executed by the Nazis, marched all the way, their arms bleeding by the time they reached Athens. The only sickening part about the whole march was that the delegates from Russia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the World Federation of Democratic Youth, who made such a triumphant entrance at Marathon, did not think it worth their while to march with their Greek "comrades" and were not seen again until the final rally in Athens.

The final rally was an unforgettable experience. The sheer size of the demonstration was fantastic; the whole atmosphere was in complete contrast to a meeting in Trafalgar Square. The feeling towards the British delegation was of immense gratitude and thanks: Pat Pottle's speech was constantly interrupted by wild ovations, the biggest of these being when he mentioned that Terry Chandler was still in prison for demonstrating during Queen Frederika's visit.

It is impossible to compare the atmosphere in Greece last year with this year's march. Last year, under the Karamanlis Government, civil liberties were non-existent, the police and army poured out to crush the demonstration,

"Even when an hour-long tropical rainstorm turned the road into a river the marchers continued on their way to Athens singing and dancing."

the atmosphere was electric, the feeling among the people was that anything could happen. Last year's situation was best summed up by one of our hosts, who said: "We gave democracy to the world. The trouble is we gave it all away and kept none for ourselves."

This year the feeling was quite different. Hardly a policeman was seen, except for those directing traffic. The feeling was one of victory and hope.

Our main regret is that we were unable to discuss the Cyprus problem with members of the Greek peace movement. A meeting to discuss Cyprus was planned for the day after the march, but this did not materialise, and we were unable to stay in Greece any longer owing to lack of money.

We would like to thank the two English people who made our trip possible, and also Aldo Capitini of the Centre for Non-Violence in Perugia and the Agenzia Radicale in Rome, for their hospitality and financial help. Our special thanks go to our friends in the Greek peace movement for their wonderful hospitality and generosity. The Greek movement sends thanks and gratitude to the nuclear disarmament movement in Britain for all their help; they look forward to continuing our close co-operation.

Editorial

Nehru: challenge of a pragmatist

Jawaharlal Nehru, who died on May 27 at the age of 74, does not fit easily into any of the obituarist's categories. In his autobiography, written while he was in prison in the Indian independence campaign, he described himself as "a queer mixture of the East and the West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere."

In his views and attitudes on many matters, Nehru was individual and pragmatic - a fact which his followers and critics alike sometimes failed to observe. Indeed, Nehru's pragmatic approach provides a challenge to those who believe rigidly in certain principles in international affairs.

Despite the fact that Nehru was unquestionably Gandhi's closest political associate, and despite his prominent part in the movement of non-violent civil disobedience for Indian independence (he spent a total of nine years in prison), Nehru never accepted the doctrine of total non-violence. Likewise, although Nehru did much to create the present-day concept of non-alignment, he was all too aware of its weaknesses. He preferred to be involved diplomatically in particular conflict situations, such as the Korean, Indo-Chinese, or Algerian wars, than to tub-thump for non-alignment in the abstract.

Thus Nehru attended the Belgrade conference of non-aligned nations in 1961 reluctantly, and he was not in the front line of the organisers of the planned conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo.

Many in Britain were out of sympathy with Nehru's non-alignment policy, criticising it as soft on Communism and unrealistic. They see the Sino-Indian border conflict of 1962 as bringing Nehru closer to reality, and Nehru himself said on October 25, with typical candour, that the "invasion of India by China" had made India realise that she had been "out of touch with reality" and had

shocked her out of the "artificial atmosphere of our own creation."

While there may have been criticisms to make of Nehru's non-alignment, it is necessary to understand the arguments for that policy. Almost certainly, no policy involving entangling alliances could have ensured Indian unity after independence, and a policy of greater military involvement would have made impossible even the very limited economic development that India has achieved since independence. Nehru often admitted that there were pragmatic reasons for India's non-alignment. As he said in April 1961:

"We are geographically situated to play the role of non-alignment and geography points a great deal in such matters. If you are a small country surrounded by great, big and hostile powers, then it is not an easy matter for such a country to face the situation bravely and call itself non-aligned."

The Sino-Indian conflict was a tragedy for Nehru because it tended to remove India from the area where non-alignment was an adequate policy. Neither India's capture of Goa in 1961, nor India's hostile relations with Pakistan, had compromised non-alignment in the same way. The atmosphere of friendship between China and India which followed the Bandung declarations of 1955 was now replaced with suspicion.

This situation was perhaps more tragic to Nehru than it was surprising. In 1949 he had said to the meeting of world pacifists in India:

"We select persons and we set up here and there large organisations, and suddenly a gust of passion comes and these groups are swept away. I was in Geneva in 1938, when the Sudetenland incident cropped up. It was the headquarters of about 230

international organisations and peace societies. But at the time when the scare of war came almost everybody was numbed and there was total paralysis. There was no war just then not because of the efforts of these organisations, but because the governments concerned did not choose to have war. It took place a year later. Now, they were swept away by circumstances. You have to understand how it can happen. I have no answer to it. Still one has a certain faith that in spite of apparent disasters humanity goes on in a certain direction. If you ask me to justify it logically, I cannot."

In this speech, Nehru drew attention to the crucial problem of what to do in a crisis situation. Nehru was always completely frank that he personally supported the use of military force: despite the fact that he, his father Motilal Nehru, and Gandhi were referred to during the independence struggle as "the father, the son, and the holy ghost," Nehru had some important disagreements with Gandhi.

Nehru supported the use of force in a wide variety of circumstances (receiving praise from Winston Churchill for this on one occasion), and from the outbreak of the Second World War he favoured active military support for the allies if Britain granted India independence. Gandhi opposed him, while appreciating that it was Nehru's sensitiveness to the danger of Fascism, toughness of mind, and genuine internationalism, which made him take this approach.

It was perhaps to be expected that after independence India would have a national army, and despite his partial attachment to Gandhi's weapon of satyagraha, Nehru said, in May 1956:

"I am a little weary of having this word *satyagraha* hurled at me. When Gandhi first used it and practiced it . . . he told us that nobody in India is a satyagrahi except himself. In

spite of all our efforts, now everybody in India is a satyagrahi."

The interesting thing about Nehru's attitude to non-violence is not that he did not accept it completely, but that he did accept it partially and could see its possible relevance in a wide variety of situations. When Gandhi showed a practical strategy for resisting the British *raj*, Nehru could accept it and embellish it and act on it, despite repression, hardship, and setbacks.

In 1953, Nehru discussed the idea of non-violent resistance with Joan Bondurant, author of *Conquest of Violence*, and said:

"That dynamic largely justified itself in India . . . I do not pretend to understand fully the significance of that technique of action, in which I myself took part. But I feel more and more convinced that it offers us some key to understanding and to the proper resolution of conflict. We see conflict all round us in the world. That is perhaps not surprising. But what is surprising is that the methods adopted to end that conflict have always failed miserably and produced greater conflict and more difficult problems. In spite of this patent fact, we pursue the old methods blindly and do not even learn from our own experiences."

It is no use simply to criticise Nehru's indecisiveness on this issue. It is also necessary to understand why neither he, nor the majority of people in India, supported the substitution of non-violent methods for the military methods employed by the army. One of the principal reasons is certainly that no Indians worked out in practical terms how a non-violent defence policy would operate. Nehru, whose pragmatism was his strength, could not regard Gandhi's general statements in favour of non-violent defence as substitutes for a policy. He said in 1953:

"It is nearly three and a half decades now that I first came in contact with

the Korean, Indo-Chinese, or Algerian wars, than to tub-thump for non-alignment in the abstract.

Thus Nehru attended the Belgrade conference of non-aligned nations in 1961 reluctantly, and he was not in the front line of the organisers of the planned conference of non-aligned nations in Cairo.

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"It is nearly three and a half decades now that I first came in contact with his (Gandhi's) strange personality and stranger ideas . . . The mind struggled with these new ideas often put on without much method or logic."

The need to transform "strange ideas" into concrete policies is more urgent now than ever before. Nehru, a pragmatist who candidly admitted many of the weaknesses and failures of his own policies, reminds us of the common failure to complete this transformation.

Indeed, while Nehru's death may necessitate the development of new ideas in the Indian Gandhian movement, which during his premiership seldom criticised the Government openly, it makes harder in certain respects the transformation of general ideas about non-violence into tough policies. One essential prerequisite for such a transformation is full historical analysis of past non-violent campaigns, and incredibly little has been written about the Indian independence movement from this point of view. Last year Rajendra Prasad died; now it is Nehru. With these leaders of the independence movement goes an irreplaceable store of knowledge.

Geoffrey Carnall writes on Nehru, page 11.

JOHN BALL'S COLUMN

Mr Raeburn's experiment

Every now and then my daily newspaper turns up with a story in which the elements of reality and fantasy are so cleverly combined that, as it merges over the days with the established mass of part-assimilated information in my mind, I find it impossible to tell whether it came from a newspaper, a novel or a plausible but imaginative dream.

One such story is the one about two men, convicted of shopbreaking, who were bound over to join the army as an alternative to coming back to court for sentence: if it wasn't sitting on my desk labelled *Daily Mail*, Thursday, May 28, 1964, I would be pretty sure this was material invented for possible use in an anti-patriotic joke. The British Vampire rides again: another adventure in partnership.

The senior partner in this adventure was Mr Walter Raeburn, Q.C. He said that he was willing to try a "bold experiment." Very good. But what does he mean, he is willing to try it? Isn't it the junior partners who are joining the army, and Mr Raeburn who is going to go on being the Recorder at West Ham Quarter Sessions?

Just in case we get it all wrong, though, Mr Raeburn reassures us:

"I don't want anyone to think there is any sentimentality here. I am going to give these men a chance of serving their country."

"There are plenty of danger spots in the world at the moment where they have a chance of working their spirits off."

Plenty of danger spots, all right: Aden is pretty dangerous, Malaysia a bit less so now, West German cafes are quiet these days, but I dare say the Corn Exchange

at Colchester still gives the chance of a punch-up on Saturday nights, particularly if there's a Scots regiment in town. Somehow, I think Mr Raeburn's being a bit sentimental himself: "working their spirits off" is a traditional euphemism for "fighting," which is what Mr Raeburn is there to prevent, not to encourage.

Nor is it his job to give people fictitious "choices" of undesirable punishments. The army isn't pleased to be thought of as a convict dustbin; but there is a nasty similarity between the army and prison. Both restrict freedom and demand discipline in place of intelligence. The army restricts you less, but it is sometimes dangerous. It is thought of more highly by respectable people: and so, though your completely rational man might decide to work his spirits off in a nice safe jail, Mr Raeburn's partners will probably decide to "volunteer" for the army. To serve their country and defend freedom.

At a time when CND is said to be at a low ebb, it is interesting that several CND groups find it possible to support their own publication. One such is *Impact*, monthly journal of Edmonton CND, whose fourth issue has just appeared. When it was started, *Impact's* editors expected to sell 100 copies if they were lucky; the May issue sold 200 in eight days, and the circulation now stands at 280. Most of these sales are to supporters; there are few casual sales.

Among other articles, this month's *Impact* carries an editorial calling on the

peace movement to act over the war in southern Arabia. Price 3d, it is published from 12 St Joan's Road, London N.9.

A new political concept which I am sure will come in useful some day: the violin. A violin is a political leader who is put up by the Left and played on by the Right. I owe this concept to Dr Claudio Veliz who uses it in an article on Chilean politics in the current issue of *The World Today*.

Prize for the least true remark of the week goes to the senior London police officer who told the *Daily Express* on Tuesday that "the police, whatever their rank, call members of the public sir or madam - and never use terms of familiarity." Never?

Peace News editorial staff

Michael Freeman, Features Editor, is leaving Peace News this summer in order to do postgraduate work in the USA, and applications are invited to fill this forthcoming vacancy on the editorial staff. The work is varied, and leaves considerable room for individual enterprise and initiative. Pay is on the usual Peace News scale, with allowances for dependants.

Previous experience in journalism is desirable, though not essential. Applications should be made in writing to the Editor, Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1, giving details of age, education, qualifications, etc. Applicants (except those doing final examinations at university, who are exempted) are asked to set out, to a limit of 1,000 words, their views on the development of Peace News. The closing date is now June 15.

Sean Hutton

THE DUBLIN ITINERANTS

anatomy of a campaign

For years past itinerants have camped at certain points on the outskirts of Dublin. Their camping sites, which are well known, are usually plots of land acquired for future development by Dublin Corporation. In its attitude to itinerants the Corporation has, down the years, followed a line of least resistance. The presence of itinerants on these sites is ignored until the volume of complaints from local residents makes it impossible to do so any longer. Then the itinerants are moved on. The move is usually to another site nearby - and the process begins again.

It was the action of a group of itinerants, backed by non-itinerant supporters, in refusing to obey a Corporation order to move on which initiated the present itinerant campaign.

Although a protest parade of itinerants and supporters had already been held, the real breakthrough in the campaign came following the opening by Peadar O'Donnell, Irish author and veteran left-wing republican and land agitator, of an itinerant school on the encampment at Ballyfermot, on the outskirts of Dublin. The erection of the school, a rough wooden structure, on Corporation property, and the publicity given it, probably forced the hand of the Corporation.

The school was opened on December 31, 1963, and on New Year's Day classes began for the 20 to 25 pupils. At 6 a.m. on January 7 two truckloads of Corporation workmen and two tractors moved up to the camp through the darkness, escorted by police. Thanks to a tip-off, they were met by a picket made up of members of the National Civil Liberties League, a group which had previously campaigned against military courts in Ireland, and unconnected sympathisers. Press and TV cameramen were on the spot, as well as reporters.

On this occasion it was agreed that the itinerants would leave the site peacefully during the course of the day, as the main object of the campaign, the spot



continued to be confined to a group of itinerants numbering about 150 men, women and children and inhabiting about 20 caravans. These, by tradition, camped in one particular area on the south side of Dublin. The amount of active support from the non-itinerant population was not great, though it increased as the campaign progressed. But the whole affair showed what could be achieved by a small group using to the full the means of publicity available to them.

quences - and that police would give evidence to this effect in any legal proceedings which might follow. Students were dragged along the road under caravans being removed from the site, others were carried or dragged away by the police and thrown in the ditch by the roadway. On this occasion the eviction was successful, but once again the itinerants were in the headlines.

A trade union ruling, of some years standing, which declared that men form-

at early hours of the morning, especially since, in the later stages of the struggle, there were constant false alarms and no definite information regarding evictions.

The arrest of Grattan Puxon, the driving force behind the campaign and its best known figure, on an explosives charge, and the police activity for which it gave cause, was in many ways a serious blow to the campaign. My own personal experience was that the Special Branch

poration.

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On this occasion it was agreed that the itinerants would leave the site peacefully during the course of the day, as the main object of the campaign, the spotlighting of the treatment of itinerants, had been achieved. It was the last occasion on which a site was to be vacated voluntarily, for three days later the itinerants were evicted from the new site on to which they had moved, contrary to an assurance given them by an official of the Corporation.

From now on it was part of a deliberate policy on the part of the itinerants to camp always on Corporation sites. They refused to co-operate with Corporation officials or workmen and, in the event of an eviction, refused to harness horses under the caravans, so that each caravan had to be pulled from the site to the roadway by Corporation workmen. This operation usually took 1½ to 2 hours. Evictions, in the initial stages of the campaign, were good news and received considerable notice on TV and in the press.

Outside help was confined, at this stage, to moral support and advice. Pickets were placed on sites during evictions, calling attention to the demands of the itinerants and appealing to the workmen not to carry out the eviction. The non-itinerant element took a large part in the deliberations on policy: encouraging, advising on the possible consequences of a particular course of action, etc.

The results achieved, in terms of publicity, were out of all proportion to the limited nature of the campaign. This

continued to be confined to a group of itinerants numbering about 150 men, women and children and inhabiting about 20 caravans. These, by tradition, camped in one particular area on the south side of Dublin. The amount of active support from the non-itinerant population was not great, though it increased as the campaign progressed. But the whole affair showed what could be achieved by a small group using to the full the means of publicity available to them.

Of course the limited nature of the campaign should not obscure its wider validity. In exposing the harsh treatment of one particular group of itinerants, the plight of itinerants in general was spotlighted. The attitude of Irish public authorities and police towards itinerants is essentially that of Dublin Corporation. The demands made by the Action Group were made on behalf of all itinerants, and public sympathy aroused by the campaign has extended to itinerants in general.

The provision of camping sites with hard surfaces, running water and other facilities, has been the chief demand of the campaign. Proposals for the construction of a network of such sites, as well as for the housing and education of itinerants, formed the main recommendations of the admirable report of the Government Commission on Itinerancy published in August 1963. Pending the implementation of the report, Dublin Corporation was requested to set up temporary camping sites for itinerants.

To maintain press and public interest in the campaign, as well as to sustain morale and increase the chances of success, it was necessary to increase resistance in the face of continuing pressure on the part of the Corporation. To non-co-operation and picketing was added student passive resistance. Itinerants were once again in the headlines towards the end of January, when passive resistance by student sympathisers from Trinity College, Dublin, the College of Art, University College, Dublin, and Queen's College, Belfast, was successful in preventing an attempted eviction.

On the following day Corporation workers were back, accompanied by police reinforcements which included members of the riot squad. Students staging a sit-down protest at the entrance to the itinerant camp were warned by the officer in charge of the police that, if they refused to move, they themselves would be responsible for the conse-

quences - and that police would give evidence to this effect in any legal proceedings which might follow. Students were dragged along the road under caravans being removed from the site, others were carried or dragged away by the police and thrown in the ditch by the roadway. On this occasion the eviction was successful, but once again the itinerants were in the headlines.

A trade union ruling, of some years standing, which declared that men forming teams for eviction work had to be volunteers, was pointed out to workmen at each eviction, and an appeal was made to them not to pass pickets placed at encampments and to exercise their option by refusing to do eviction work. Only at the eviction of January 23, mentioned above, was there any response to the appeal. While a few caravans still remained to be pulled from the site, 8-12 men, a little less than half the party, walked off the site and refused to continue the work. Trade Union officials have confined themselves to pointing out the rule to the men, and the men themselves claim that if they refuse to do this work they would be victimised in the allocation of other work.

Those involved in the campaign believe that it was the action of these men, and the fear that others would do likewise, that caused a delay of some weeks between this and the next eviction. This latter showed that Dublin Corporation had learned from the experience of previous evictions. Such was the secrecy with which the preparations were made that the usual source of information on impending evictions proved useless. When the Corporation moved in at 8 a.m. on February 26 there was not even a picket to meet them. The itinerants had been removed on to the roadway by 9.30 a.m. To prevent them entering other Corporation sites watches of Corporation workmen and police were put on them. Organised trespass had been the essential tactic of the campaign and when this was no longer possible the campaign, in the form under which it had been carried out up to then, was at an end.

It was realised by many of those engaged in the campaign that the fight against the Corporation could not go on for ever. Itinerant life was being disrupted by constant evictions. With the coming of summer some of the itinerants in the group would leave the city for the country. Students could not be expected constantly to be present at encampments

at early hours of the morning, especially since, in the later stages of the struggle, there were constant false alarms and no definite information regarding evictions.

The arrest of Grattan Puxon, the driving force behind the campaign and its best known figure, on an explosives charge, and the police activity for which it gave cause, was in many ways a serious blow to the campaign. My own personal experience was that the Special Branch officers who visited me following Mr Puxon's arrest devoted more of their energy to personal attacks on him than to interrogation regarding explosives.

What might be called round one of the campaign has concluded. Neither of the two demands put forward by the Action Group have been met - a Dublin Corporation request for the necessary permission to establish temporary sites has been rejected by the Minister for Local Government, who still cannot say when the report of August 1963 will be discussed in the Irish Parliament. But to judge the campaign on this basis would, I think, be utterly wrong. Through it, itinerants and the problems of itinerancy have been brought before the public. Itinerancy has become a talking point (very important in that itinerancy is a social problem in the solution of which the community as a whole must play a part). In this sense, the campaign has been a huge success.

The itinerants of the group have now scattered. The Action Group no longer exists in the form in which it did during the campaign of January-February. It is still too early to say what shape the campaign will now take on - but, certainly, there are too many people here who feel too strongly on this question to allow it to be forgotten. Already a non-itinerant Itinerant Action Group has been formed in Belfast. This might be the shape of things to come.

Above: The eviction on January 23: one of the demonstrators blocks the path of a dray which Corporation workers are trying to move. When the demonstrator refused to move, the cart was pushed over him. While a few caravans still remained to be removed from the site, nearly half the Corporation's eviction party walked off the site and refused to continue the work.

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What's wrong with Britain?

W. A. Hampton

Clobbering the managers

What's Wrong with British Industry?
by Rex Malik (Penguin Special, 3s 6d.)

The Minister of Aviation, through a Parliamentary answer to Mr. Lubbock, has told us that only three of the 271 technical costs officers in his department have an engineering degree. Perhaps two or three dozen of the others are members of an engineering institution or possess a higher national certificate. These facts are obtained when a scandal arouses public interest, but the generally low standard of qualifications possessed by the people who run our society continues. It is only now that two university schools, at Manchester and London, are being opened to teach management as an intellectual discipline.

Of course the amateur tradition in Britain contends that you cannot teach "management" - or "politics" for that matter. It takes three generations to produce a professional man, or so we are told, and fourteen apparently to produce a Prime Minister. But those who contend this must be willing to be judged on their record - and this is woefully inadequate. The German and French "economic miracles" simply appear supernatural beside our only too mortal economy.

Mr Malik, therefore, enjoys himself by showing some of the glaring cases of mismanagement that are to be found in certain of Britain's leading industries. He explains that his "main concern is to 'clobber' the managers" (p.11) in whatever sphere they operate. Now this is a sport we have all enjoyed one time or another, but the use of the phrase reveals the weakness of the book.

In the first place it is of course, an outrageously ambitious title. The introduction reassures us that "it is not a fair, exhaustive, heavily documented, and unpedestrian treatise" (p. 9) and is truth



our missile programme. The £107 million spent on Blue Streak, a project that was "obsolescent before it was even started" (p. 60) is only the most publicised example of waste. Nor can the Govern-

ment place an order and then cook up a suitable figure to appear in the estimates. Once started the expenditure will be continued in the "good money after bad" principle.

In chapter eight, by far the best chapter

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In the first place it is of course, an outrageously ambitious title. The introduction reassures us that "it is not a fair, exhaustive, heavily documented, and unreadable treatise" (p. 9) and in truth we would not have expected it in a book of some 120 pages.

We were entitled to expect, however, in a book devoted to efficiency, some tidiness of expression and care in the use of statistics, but this, too, is absent. It is, for example, *wages not wages and salaries* that take about 40% of the national income (p. 37). This is a pity because such slips will enable the book to be brushed aside too easily as irresponsible, and there is good reason to believe that many of the criticisms are justified.

Nowhere is the lack of documentation more regrettable than in the sections on the defence industries. The wide Penguin public deserves a more careful chronicle of the continuous mishaps in



our missile programme. The £107 million spent on Blue Streak, a project that was "obsolescent before it was even started" (p. 60) is only the most publicised example of waste. Nor can the Government contend that we are adequately protected by the expenditure of such sums. In fact if Mr Khrushchev really is waiting, like an eighteenth century gentleman, until we are ready to defend ourselves, then we can only commend his patience.

It is, of course, true that the whole of defence expenditure can "only be fairly described as a mess" (p. 61), and it is a mess moreover that appears to be self-regulating. Another Penguin Special - *What's Wrong with Parliament?* - recently suggested that the House of Commons has exercised no control over government spending for at least forty years. The Ferranti scandal emphasises that for the last ten the Government has had no control over government spending. The procedure appears to be to

place an order and then cook up a suitable figure to appear in the estimates. Once started the expenditure will be continued in the "good money after bad" principle.

In chapter eight, by far the best chapter in the book, Mr Malik surveys some useful and practical suggestions to improve our industrial performance. In summary these are three: an improvement in industrial training, both at managerial and shop floor level; an increase in the amount spent on industrial research, with the emphasis on depth not breadth; and an increase in the size of plant, together with a greater concentration on long standard runs.

But although much of this is relevant, the conclusions are not developed from the argument. We will take, as an example, the case of steel. It is obvious that the newspaper advertisements have not affected Mr Malik's judgment, for he writes:

"What we have are too many small

units making a too costly product, when the shape of the modern steel industry demands large-capacity plant both for quality's sake and for reasons of economics." (p. 84)

At a time when the Russians are talking of plants of 12 and 24 million tons capacity, Britain has only one plant comparable to the European giants. That is the Spencer Works - eventual capacity 7 million tons - recently opened by Richard Thomas and Baldwin - *the only part of the steel industry that was not denationalised*.

Yet despite his acceptance of the fact that more effective government intervention in industry will be needed, Mr Malik rejects the "intellectual dishonesty [of] wholesale nationalisation" (p. 91), and calls for a reduction in the size of the Civil Service. Nowhere are we told *how*, if these two points are accepted, we are going to *make* government intervention more effective.

The most interesting aspect of the book is this emphasis on the growing importance of politics to industry. Mr Malik stresses that "The problems caused by automation are really political" (p. 127), and speaks of the "incalculable consequences" of "the political requirement for full employment that the people have imposed on the political structure." (p. 108)

Despite Mr Enoch Powell, very few people believe any longer in the efficacy of Adam Smith's "hidden hand." We can indeed *choose* the kind of society we wish to live in, but this means creating public agencies that will carry our wishes into effect, and *developing methods of controlling these agencies*.

If Britain is to keep up with the other industrial countries, then considerable changes must be made in our methods of working, and most of these will lead to a more centralised and elitist society. This leads, as Mr Malik points out, "to another and more worrying question. Can we in fact have a technological society and the personal freedom which is this country's hallmark; or are the two mutually exclusive?" (p. 108)

At this point Mr Malik ducks again: but we will have to find an answer. After all, dictators have always built good roads. . . .

Raymond Challinor

The malaise of Parliament

What's Wrong with Parliament? by Andrew Hill and Anthony Whichelow. (Penguin Special, 3s 6d.)

This is a disappointing book. The authors shrink from considering the fundamental issues of parliamentary democracy, claiming that their task is to advance a series of practical reforms attainable in the near future. So the book lacks a conceptual framework.

Notwithstanding this, however, some perceptive observations are made. They say the root cause for the present malaise of Parliament, its decline in importance, is its failure to control governmental spending:

"The truth is that the control by the House of Government spending, a control which was once almost imperial in its scope, is now largely non-existent. Consider, for instance, how the Government of the day were able to com-

mit the country to a policy of making the nuclear bomb. This was undoubtedly one of the most far-reaching decisions ever taken by a British Government; and it was taken by the Government without Parliament being consulted in any way . . .

The decision to make the bomb was not only one of the most vital of peacetime decisions, it was also one of the most expensive. In January, 1963, the cost of maintaining an independent nuclear deterrent since 1948 was officially estimated at about £1,000 million." (p. 19)

The writers would like to see a closer scrutiny of public accounts by the Estimates Committee of the House of Commons.

Messrs Hill and Whichelow have a political attitude which I think most of us would regard as antediluvian. For

while the prevailing political mood is generally unsympathetic to the House of Lords, an institution whose hereditary principle is usually solemnly defended on grounds of line-breeding in livestock, our authors shower a paean of praise on their lordships:

"It is possible that the House of Lords stands higher in public esteem today than does the House of Commons. Looking back over its history since the war, there is certainly no *prima facie* call for urgent reform, as there is in the Commons. Indeed in this respect the Commons is comparable with British Railways before Dr Beeching and the Lords with the streamlined efficiency that is expected to follow him."

From the above, it is clear that Messrs Hill and Whichelow are not with us politically; it is extremely doubtful whether they are with it.

Photo: Tom Blau



What's Wrong with Hospitals? by Gerda L. Cohen. (Penguin Special, 3s 6d)

Gerda Cohen's *What's Wrong with Hospitals?* will undoubtedly be very unpopular with most of the medical world. However, for the increasingly resentful consumer she has produced an extremely useful examination of the hospital service. She accurately describes the unconscious brutality which she observed during the preparation of this book in maternity, paediatric, geriatric and mental hospitals and units throughout the country. For each section of the book, she picks out the most objectionable elements, but at the same time she is

The rich were treated at home and the middle class in pay-beds or nursing homes. Senior staff gave their services unpaid, and frequently small hospitals would defer calling in a consultant for someone in a public ward until a private patient needed advice in that speciality. Thus the hospital's attitude towards the patient was determined by whether he was paying for his bed or merely occupying it.

Although we now all pay for our beds in the public wards, this attitude is still prevalent. No wonder one million opt out of the National Health Service by insuring privately, so that in the event

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This caste system, which splits the patients, also operates within the hospital itself. The higher the grade, the less contact you need have with the patients. And this lack of contact is further encouraged by the professional detachment assumed by nursing and medical staff.

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Jane Fior RENATIONALISE THE HEALTH SERVICE

Nuffield Foundation has laid down systems and principles which are blandly ignored in the stunted building programme. The Platt committee recommends sensible reforms in children's nursing; that, for example, there should be unrestricted visiting on all children's wards, and that mothers of children under five should be admitted with them. The Cranbrook Report suggests that women in hospital to have their babies are entitled to the same courtesy and consideration as the mother who has her baby at home - hardly the case at the hospital where Mr Enoch Powell was shown a large hand bell outside a de-

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Karel Reisz's last film, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, was a tremendous success critically and commercially. On the strength of it he was regarded as one of the white hopes of the British cinema. You would have thought that the critics would have taken a good deal of interest in it. As an important work of critical interest, it was certainly in that line. But does it have a certain quality? When he made the film, Karel Reisz was clearly making a genuine experiment.

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Why does the patient have the impression that he counts for so little in the vast organisation created for his benefit? From Gerda Cohen's experiences and her analysis of the evolution of the hospital, its structure, organisation and internal hierarchy, the following points emerge: the hospitals have not recovered from the fact that originally the public wards were for the poor and they were lucky if they could get into them.

The rich were treated at home and the middle class in pay-beds or nursing homes. Senior staff gave their services unpaid, and frequently small hospitals would defer calling in a consultant for someone in a public ward until a private patient needed advice in that speciality. Thus the hospital's attitude towards the patient was determined by whether he was paying for his bed or merely occupying it.

Although we now all pay for our beds in the public wards, this attitude is still prevalent. No wonder one million opt out of the National Health Service by insuring privately, so that in the event of ill health, they may enjoy the obvious benefits of the private patient.

For example, parents are frequently told that children in hospital for tonsils operations are allowed no visitors at all on the grounds that they run the danger of haemorrhage if they cry when they see their parents, or that visitors on the ward greatly increase the danger of cross infection.

"'For their own good, we ban visitors' said a matron in the West Riding. On the way out she passed a side ward with relatives feeding their children

custard. 'Managing all right?' Matron benignly blocked the doorway, 'a bit sore? Never mind duckies.' An aside to me, 'They're private patients of course. Had their tonsils out this morning. We can't interfere with people who pay.'

This caste system, which splits the patients, also operates within the hospital itself. The higher the grade, the less contact you need have with the patients. And this lack of contact is further encouraged by the professional detachment assumed by nursing and medical staff.

In theory, this gap is intended to be bridged by the hospital management committees. In practice the advice of the experts is gratefully received by the lay members and the organisational structure of the hospital itself centres on a shifting network which is impossible to pin down. The Ministry of Health finds itself powerless to put into effect the very necessary reforms recommended by a series of high-powered and humane committees: Miss Powell, for example, a splendidly progressive matron, recommends far reaching reforms in organisation and nursing, while the research programme of the

Nuffield Foundation has laid down systems and principles which are blandly ignored in the stunted building programme. The Platt committee recommends sensible reforms in children's nursing: that, for example, there should be unrestricted visiting on all children's wards, and that mothers of children under five should be admitted with them. The Cranbrook Report suggests that women in hospital to have their babies are entitled to the same courtesy and consideration as the mother who has her baby at home - hardly the case at the hospital where Mr Enoch Powell was shown a large hand bell outside a delivery ward which was rung to summon students when a birth was imminent.

The articulate middle class, affronted by its experience in the public ward, has formed various consumer organisations: the Patients' Association, the Association for Improvement in the Maternity Services, Mother Care for Children in Hospital, the movement for natural childbirth, but these can at best only hope to act as pressure groups. Gerda Cohen's book would suggest that until we have renationalisation of the health service we cannot expect widespread reform.

John Pilgrim

THE RULE OF FEAR IN OUR SCHOOLS

Amid the screaming headlines about teenage violence that followed the bank holiday, the *Daily Express* and *Daily Mirror* carried a story about violence in which teenagers were the victims rather than executants. It appears that two 18-year-old girls at a mixed grammar school had been partly stripped and hit with a hairbrush. Their injuries were such that the police were called in; the headmaster who beat the girls has since resigned. The girls' offence was stated to be that they had disobeyed a school rule by remaining in a classroom during a break period. This story apparently attracted no attention in the inquest which followed the Margate affrays; yet it is surely pertinent to consider the treatment that young people meet at school when seeking the reason for the recent outbursts of anti-social behaviour.

The issue of corporal punishment in

schools has largely disappeared from the press in recent years. Partly this is because those people who oppose it have been engaged in issues of more immediate concern, such as nuclear warfare, and partly because of a widespread, but I believe erroneous, idea that corporal punishment has virtually died out except among the public schools. For the past year I have been collecting information on its incidence in schools and the evidence seems to show that it is far more widespread than the progressively-minded teacher would like to believe; the schools that use it as an "ultimate sanction" only tending to be outnumbered by those who use it for minor offences and for lack of academic ability.

In these schools the rule of fear seems to be accepted as the only possible method of keeping order in the overcrowded classes. I have found that

caning is being used for such "offences" as spelling mistakes, failure to obtain a required minimum of marks in tests, lateness, leaving books at home and "contradicting the teacher." At one London school a teacher starts each lesson with a fresh class by beating a boy who has committed no offence, "just in case somebody wants to start something." One girl whom I interviewed last year (aged 15) was caned for wearing a sweater over her school uniform during the icy weather of the 1962-3 winter; another received similar treatment for dyeing her hair.

The continuance of such methods in schools seems to be ensured by a self-filtering process that operates in the teaching profession. Young teachers who suffered this treatment at school tend to impose it in their turn, maintaining a learned pattern of behaviour; teachers who were more fortunate in their schooling either do not believe it happens, or if they enter a school that makes a practice of corporal punishment, either adopt it in self-defence or leave the profession. This is, of course, a rather sweeping generalisation but it broadly describes the pattern that seems to occur. In the adult education college that I am at present attending not one of the potential teachers here is opposed to corporal punishment.

It is surely obvious that the calculated humiliation that so often attends punishment of this type is going to result in an explosion when the children who undergo it leave school. When the relationship between teacher and pupil is based on fear, hate, and violence then it is hardly surprising that this is the pattern of behaviour that children are going to carry into adult life, and events like the Clacton and Margate fights become inevitable.

If we are to build a sane society then it is imperative that corporal punishment be eradicated from our schools. It is quite understandable that a teacher, exasperated beyond endurance, should take a swipe at a child, but if the teacher-pupil relationship is a healthy one, and based on love rather than fear, then a momentary loss of temper on the part of the teacher will not matter. However, while corporal punishment is permitted in schools we are inevitably going to get a number of teachers who enjoy administering it or who use it as a cover for their own lack of teaching ability; we are inevitably going to get children who spend their formative years in an atmosphere of fear and violence, and who will tend to reproduce that pattern in the society into which they emerge.

KAREL REISZ'S EXPERIMENT

Alan Lovell reviews 'Night Must Fall'

Karel Reisz's second feature film, *Night Must Fall*, got short shrift from the critics. Nearly every one of them dismissed it as a complete failure and relegated the film to a few short paragraphs at the end of their columns. It's certainly not surprising that they regarded it as a failure; I don't think anybody could claim that the film was particularly successful. What is surprising is that nobody asked why.

Karel Reisz's last film, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, was a tremendous success critically and commercially. On the strength of it he was regarded as one of the white hopes of the British cinema. You would have thought that the critics would have taken a good deal of interest in a man they had described as an important film maker. This lack of critical interest is the more disconcerting in that *Night Must Fall* does have a certain quality. When he made the film, Karel Reisz was clearly making a genuine experiment.

There are obvious failures in the film which, though they are partly responsible for its weaknesses, are not of great interest. One feels that Karel Reisz and his co-producer, Albert Finney (who is also the star of the film), made the kind of mistakes that anybody is liable to and which, however much one searches, cannot be properly accounted for except on a purely personal level.

The choice of Emlyn Williams' melodramatic play as the starting point of the film seems to have been the main mistake. The fascination of the central character of that play, Danny, the tortured, charming sex-killer, is easy to see. But since Emlyn Williams simply used the character as a pretext for a "shocker," anybody who wanted to do film are the genuine creative mistakes something more with the subject would that have been made both by Albert

Finney and Karel Reisz. Albert Finney seems to have decided that he wasn't going to repeat Arthur Seaton in the way he played Danny. The charm which was so much a part of his performance in *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* has been carefully suppressed in this film. One can respect Finney's desire not to repeat himself, but unfortunately charm is central to the character of Danny. Without it, his success with women is impossible to understand. And since, besides the lack of charm, Finney conveys the menace of the character in such a mannered way, Danny often becomes simply ridiculous.

Karel Reisz and his writer, Clive Exton, haven't left the play far enough behind. At a number of points in the film the play makes itself felt and weakens the force of the film. It is very hard to know what period the action is set in, for instance. The old lady and the house she lives in, where Danny comes to work, seem to belong to the 1930s or 1940s, but to the social climate of the '30s and '40s as seen by the West End stage rather than as a genuine reflection of the particular period. One or two minor characters like the comic old gardener and forelock-touching villagers could only have existed on that stage. But the police and equipment they employ in the search for the missing woman would seem authentic if they were shown on television news tomorrow evening. The car that the old lady's daughter drives and the scooter Danny drives are also reminders of our own more prosperous society.

Emlyn Williams hardly seems to have had much interest in the plight of Danny. The character was just useful for the thriller Williams set out to write. Reisz and Exton are obviously much more involved with the character but they haven't reconceived him enough to involve the audience. Several times in the film Danny just stares hard into space. You know that something odd is going on inside his head, but it is impossible to fathom what it is. When Danny says that what's going on in his head is "private," one can only agree with him.

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Karel Reisz's failure is more complex - I am not even sure that it is right to call it a failure. His great strength in *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* and in his earlier documentaries like *We are the Lambeth Boys* was his quiet and subtle observation of the manners and physical presence of young people. The question that the films raised was whether this observation was too limited a talent to sustain him for more than one or two films. The curious thing about both *We are the Lambeth Boys* and *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* was that they were very likeable films to watch, but they left an oddly impersonal feeling afterwards. It was as if only a limited part of the artist had gone into the making of the films. The choice of *Night Must Fall* as the subject for his second feature film, whatever its other implications, suggested that Karel Reisz wanted to see if his talent could be stretched. In making a film of a play like this, he couldn't rely on social and physical observation alone to carry him through.

It seems to me that in *Night Must Fall* he has tried to extend his talent in two directions, one of which is quite wrong for him while the other is very exciting. The blind alley seems to me to be his

another more elegant age. Gradually these images work to create a sense of a girl who would have been secure and happy in the society of the nineteenth century but is too aware and intelligent to be satisfied with her social status in a world where society has changed so radically. She is not strong enough to break completely from her world, only to be dissatisfied with it. Her dissatisfaction leads her into an encounter with a strange character like Danny. Whenever she appears in the film it has a dimension that is generally missing elsewhere.

There is one other point at which the film has this dimension. It is the last image of the film. Danny, his murders discovered, curls up, crouched on the floor, under the washbasin of the bathroom. The way he curls up, the heavily ornamented bathroom, the harsh white of the walls combine to give us for the first time in the film a real sense of Danny's madness. It is where one feels the film should have begun, not ended. But it is also a sign that Karel Reisz's talent is more unpredictable and exciting than his other films suggested.

Six days in an atom shelter for 150 West Germans

Andrew Trasler writes: The West German civil defence organisation is to hold a six-day-long experiment in Dortmund, starting next Monday, June 8, to test people's reactions to a prolonged period in an atomic shelter.

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It seems to me that in *Night Must Fall* he has tried to extend his talent in two directions, one of which is quite wrong for him while the other is very exciting. The blind alley seems to me to be his attempt at creating immediate dramatic excitement. In the film he tries to do this in a number of ways, by cutting between the developing personal relationships in the house and the police search for the body of the missing woman, by heightening some of the physical action like the game that Danny and the old lady's daughter play with his scooter and her car, and in the obvious thriller parts of the film like Danny's killing of the old lady. Whenever the film works in this way it is mechanical, obvious and like a hundred other thriller films. You feel a technician at work, but the artist has taken a day off. However hard he tries, Karel Reisz hasn't got the kind of feeling for this kind of dramatic excitement. He just isn't a Franju or a Kurosawa.

The successful parts of the film seem to me those where he uses his talent for social observation and his sense of physical presence, but manages to go beyond it. He does this principally in his response to the old lady's daughter (nicely played by Susan Hampshire). But it is also present in the way the old lady is treated; and towards the end of the film a little bit in the response to Danny.

The opening image of the film is a good example of this quality. The daughter comes out at dawn on to the lawn of the house, dressed in her nightgown. The lighting (strong, emphatic whites) and the composition combine with the slow, elegant movement of the girl to give the image more than its literal meaning. There are overtones of a past age when the girl might have dressed for a summer ball.

This quality comes at other points in the film. It is seen best of all in a sequence where the girl sits on the floor of her room packing her clothes in a suitcase, while a gramophone plays some cheerful dance music. Again the lighting, the clothes, the music and the sense of the girl's physical presence suggest

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150 civilian volunteers - both men and women - will receive £4 10s 6d a day for their services. Their diet has been prepared by officials; it consists mainly of tinned stew, sausages and bacon, and has been designed to give approximately 2,000 calories a day. The bunker in which they will live was built during the last war and has been adapted at a cost of £322,000 to withstand the effects of a 5-megaton bomb exploding a mile away.

This is the first time that civilians have taken part in such tests, although soldiers and civil defence officers have been used as guinea-pigs in the past. As a recent edition of *Der Spiegel* pointed out, these previous tests have not exactly been a success. On one occasion the emergency toilets broke down and there was not enough disinfectant and cleaning materials to go round. In another experiment, the air humidity rate rose to 80%, and after 120 hours water was running down the walls. As one soldier said afterwards "everything became damp, sticky and dirty." During that experiment, the volunteers lost an average of 4½ pounds each.

This time, the organisers hope to be able to test the psychological effects on people living together in confined quarters in an artificial atmosphere. It was intended that mothers with children between 6 and 12 years old should take part, but this was forbidden by the Minister of Health, Mrs Elizabeth Schwarzhaupt. The organisers have now substituted a number of girls between 16 and 21 years old. Young men will not take part in the test, since they will be expected "to work actively in civil defence in an emergency" - presumably in the open.

In spite of the previous failures, the German civil defence authorities intend to go on with their programme, to try and prove to the man in the street that "everyone has a chance". It shows a welcome change from a pamphlet issued about two years ago, in which the poor civilian was advised to protect himself against atomic blast by lying in the gutter and covering his head with his briefcase.

PROJECTS UNLIMITED

Project 328 180 orphan children in Algerian home (Bone). Victims of warfare.

Project 219 Babar Leprosy Control Centre (India). To enable children to live in small homes near hospital where parents are treated. Small home £200. Blankets, £25 equips a home.

Project 187a Training Centre Ranchi (India). 11,000 children taught to matriculation standard. Also teachers' training. £20 a year provides for pupil. £18 provides a year's pay for teacher.

Project 253 Ruvuma Young Farmers' Club. 12 axes £6; 12 hoes 66s; 6 mattocks 90s; 1 year's fuel for tractor £15; carpentry tools £16; oxen £40; cows £50.

WAR ON WANT has introduced several unique features to Great Britain.

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Total aid 1963 £1,121,655 7s 9d. Not a penny deducted from charitable gifts. If you pay tax at standard rate a covenanted gift adds an extra 12s 8d to each 20s.

Work camp to help Swiss war resisters

This summer there is to be an international work camp and seminar for conscientious objectors to help launch the final phase of the campaign for CO recognition in Switzerland. The Swiss Association of War Resisters and the Swiss Branch of the Service Civil International agreed to organise this at the suggestion of the War Resisters' International. Switzerland is one of the few countries left in Western Europe which

does not exempt COs from military service. France and Belgium have introduced CO laws this year and the Italian Government is seriously considering similar measures.

A recent statement issued by the War Resisters' International states that the WRI Executive believes that, in pursuit of the 1960 Gandhigram conference resolution to make conscientious objection a human right in all countries, the situation in Switzerland invites international solidarity and direct intervention.

The only concession to COs in Switzerland is the possibility of non-combatant duties while in the services. Those who refuse to collaborate to this extent can receive up to 3 years' imprisonment and the sentences are repeated if the victim persists in his objection. The courts have power to give minimum sentences of 3 days' imprisonment or one day's detention but they rarely exercise it. The sentences are usually much longer.

Jean-Jacques Tschumi, an architect from Geneva, was sentenced to 75 days' detention by a military tribunal on April 9; this was his second sentence. On the first occasion he was deprived of liberty for 2 months.

The WRI say that the purpose of the work camp will be to demonstrate that Swiss COs, while they are not willing to bear arms, are ready to help the national and international community in a positive way. International participation in the work camp and seminar will provide opportunities for creative discussion between COs with different ideas and many different backgrounds; it will help to acquaint both the Swiss peace movement and public with the status and treatment of COs in other countries, and will serve as a focal point for national publicity.

The project will take place from July 19 to August 1 at Hospental, which is at an altitude of 1,200 metres in the Canton of Uri. The Service Civil International will be responsible for the work camp; the work will be to make a country road.

The seminar will take place in the mornings and the work for five hours in the afternoons. Accommodation will be very simple in barns and stables. There will be room for about thirty participants and an attempt will be made to include two or three COs from every Western European country.

No external propaganda will be undertaken during the course of the camp; this is to avoid provoking any tension between the COs and the local population, 25% of which is apparently engaged in work which is dependent on the army. At the end of the project on August 3 and 4 a press conference will be held in Zurich and every attempt will be made to get the maximum publicity.

The object of this project is a limited one but the implications are much wider.

The WRI is appealing for the highest commitment from all its sections and asking that all sections in Europe guarantee at least two COs each and finance their travel to Switzerland. The requirements for participants are that they should be: conscientious objectors with a record of resistance to military service; capable of expressing themselves; able to provide a written or verbal account of their own experiences and the regulations and conditions in their own country; willing to do hard manual work; and anxious to act in solidarity with their fellow war resisters in Switzerland.

Anyone with the necessary qualifications who is interested in the project should write to: WRI Secretariat, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

Unions condemn ban on Lutuli

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sent a cable on May 24 to Dr Verwoerd, the Prime Minister of South Africa, urging him to rescind the new five-year ban imposed on Nobel Peace Prize-winner ex-Chief Albert Lutuli. A report in the South African paper *Natal Mercury* quotes a confederation communique which said:

"This ban imposed for the second time on May 24 condemns Lutuli virtually to silence - no word of his may be published in any South African newspaper or magazine, he may not attend or address any meeting, and may not be in company of more than two persons."

The cable "protests vigorously on behalf of the international free trade union movement against this particular outrageous treatment of a man who has received the highest world award for action in the interests of peace." The *Mercury* reported a further criticism of the ban on May 26, quoting Mr Peter Brown, national chairman of the Liberal Party of South Africa, who described the ban as "blind and senseless." Mr Brown said that the reimposition of the banning order was not surprising in view of the way the Minister of Justice used his powers. "We do not know what the next five years will hold for South Africa, but we certainly cannot afford to spend them without the benefit of Chief Lutuli's presence in our public life."

Kloppenburg appeal adjourned again

Demand refused

Patricia Millwood reports from Geneva: A Socialist motion to grant conscientious objectors the right to alternative service was turned down by the Swiss Federal Parliament on May 13, by 107 votes to 27.

Demands for a special statute for COs

HEINZ BRANDT RELEASED



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Judgment was reserved in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, on May 21 in an appeal by Theodore Kloppenburg, the South African pacifist, against a banning order imposed on him last year by the Minister of Justice, Mr B. J. Vorster.

An appeal against the order was dismissed by Mr Justice Henning in Durban last year. At the time Mr Kloppenburg asked that reasons should be given to him for the two notices served on him and the information which induced them. The appeal on May 21 was heard by the Acting Judge-President, Mr Justice Caney, Mr Justice Fannin, and Mr Justice Harcourt.

Mr Kloppenburg wrote to *Peace News* on May 26 that since the Supreme Court hearing he has appeared in the Durban Magistrates' Court, but as he expected, the hearing was once more adjourned until June 25. He says that on behalf of the Minister of Justice the following reasons for the banning order were given: "activities which are furthering, or are calculated to further, the achievement of the some of the objects of communism" and "activities which are furthering, or may further, the achievement of some of the objects of communism."

Mr Kloppenburg's barrister argued that the reasons given were not reasons but conclusions. Several cases constituting precedence were quoted. "Now," says Mr Kloppenburg, "I am patiently waiting for the three judges to make up their minds."

The two notices are effective until June 30, 1968. The first prohibits Mr Kloppenburg from attending any gathering whether it be political, social or educational. The second prohibits him from leaving the magisterial district of Durban or entering African hostels, villages or locations. He is also banned from areas allocated for Coloureds and Asiatics, factories, educational institutions, communicating with banned persons and participating in, or assisting with, publications.

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Demands for a special statute for COs have been voiced in Switzerland for over 60 years, but they have always been rejected, since they have never gained enough parliamentary support.

A letter signed by over 200 people in the canton of Neuchatel has been sent to the Federal Government alerting the authorities and the public that "if in the course of 1964 no acceptable solution has been found, other action - short of violence - will be taken."

Atom scientist Leo Szilard dies

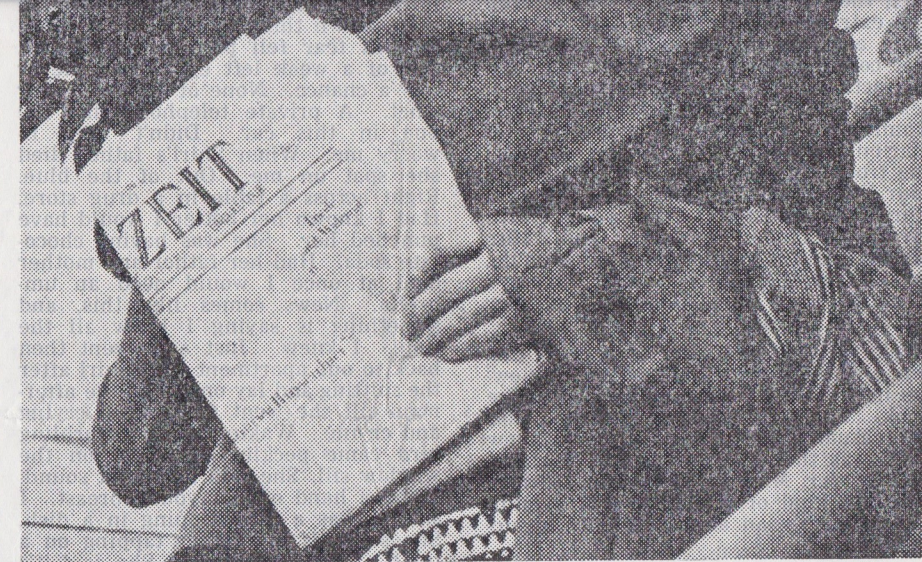
Dr Leo Szilard, the nuclear physicist who played an important part in the development of the atomic bomb, died in La Jolla, California, last Saturday. He was 66.

Dr Szilard was one of the men who in 1939, with Einstein, warned President Roosevelt about the possibility that Germany was developing atomic weapons. The United States then began development of the atomic bomb.

Born in Budapest, Dr Szilard suffered as a young man the effects of political convulsions. His experiences after being conscripted for the Triple Alliance during the First World War gave him such an aversion to everything military that nearly thirty years later he replied to an American reporter who asked him what his hobby was: "Beating brass hats."

The weeks of Red terror under Bela Kun, followed by the months of the White terror under Horthy, drove Szilard to Berlin, where, under the influence of Einstein and others, he turned to theoretical physics.

When Hitler achieved power Szilard first went to Vienna, but he realised that Austria would sooner or later be overrun by the Nazis, and after six weeks left for England. It was in England in 1933 that he first considered the possibility of a nuclear chain reaction. Nine



Heinz Brandt, the West German journalist who has been released from jail in East Germany, is greeted by his wife on his arrival at Frankfurt airport on May 28. He had served three years of his 13-year sentence for spying.

years later, in 1942, he and Dr Enrico Fermi created the first chain reaction in a laboratory, but initially Szilard was not concerned to develop nuclear physics. As early as 1935 he unsuccessfully approached a number of atomic research workers to ask them, in view of the potentially terrifying consequences of their work, to refrain from publishing any future results of their studies.

Szilard went to the USA in 1937, and before the outbreak of the Second World War, he was convinced that Germany was trying to develop atomic weapons; like Einstein, he felt that the United States had no alternative but to develop its own atomic weapons. After the war, General Groves was to say: "We would never have had an atom bomb if Szilard had not shown such determination during the first years of the war."

Just as in 1939 Szilard approached Einstein in order to get his assistance in persuading the US government to construct an atom bomb, so in 1945 he approached Einstein with a view to issuing a warning about the possible consequences of using atomic bombs, and the dangers of a nuclear arms race. He opposed the use of the bomb, warning the US Government that "the military advantages and the saving of American lives achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan may be outweighed by the ensuing loss of confi-

dence and by a wave of horror sweeping over the rest of the world and perhaps even dividing public opinion at home."

After the war, Szilard devoted himself to warnings against the military control of nuclear power, the development of the hydrogen bomb, and the vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons. He was a frequent attendee at the Pugwash scientists' conferences, and one of his last books was an attempt to show how dolphins might have organised things better than human beings.

In June 1962 Dr Szilard formed the Council for a Livable World, which concerned itself with research projects for arms reduction and multilateral disarmament. This body advocated a major reduction of nuclear stockpiles by both the United States and the Soviet Union, down to a "minimum deterrent" level. "If this type of agreement were to be carried through in a short time, it could require," he said, "little of the intrusive inspection that has hitherto been unacceptable to the Soviet Union, and could also provide sufficient guarantees to satisfy the security requirements of the West." The Council also advocated limited unilateral initiatives. Dr Szilard hoped that 20,000 people with an average income of \$10,000 per annum would devote 1% or 2% of their income to congressional candidates favouring these policies.

THE FANTASTIC WORLD OF J. P. DONLEAVY

Peter Harcourt

A *Singular Man*, by J. P. Donleavy.
(Bodley Head, 21s.)

At the very beginning of *A Singular Man*, we recognise that we are back in *Ginger Man* territory when we come across the following:

"Two miles south of Eagle Street along the river and highway past the high white walls of a hospital for humans. Further under a vast dark bridge and the Animal Medical Centre, George Smith turned off the avenue of lurking doormen and down a commercial street. Left into an entrance and one flight up to a wide window overlooking the steady strange click of people and wide beetle cars bubbling by. On the corner lolly pop traffic lights tasted all day from red to green with lemon in between." (p.3.)

The sharply observed spots of detail, the energetic, idiosyncratic expression, the scarcity of finite verbs are all part of the style with which Mr Donleavy first startled us some eight years ago. In fact, the parallels with *The Ginger Man* are extraordinary, parallels not only of style and general attitude but of what we could provisionally call plot and character. For Sebastian Dangerfield, read George Smith; for Kenneth O'Keefe, Boniface Clementine; in place of wife Marion and one awkward baba, we have the troubling presence of wife Shirl and four little brats; and instead of the girls Chris, Miss Frost and Lilly, we find with greater changes, Matilda and Miss Martin, and the resplendent ungraspable, mysterious Miss Sally "Dizzy Darling" Thomson, her dog Goliath, and her fortuitous "yesh."

I take it that it is due largely to this sense of self-repetition that the reviewers have been so unsympathetic with the

travel for love. I go because I feel while perhaps passing in some strange hall, using some strange toilet I may find a moment of reverie. Or a touch or feel I've not had before. I am fond of stripping the bark from a branch and handling the sappy wood. And out under wild skies when spring is there I take down the dog wood flower and hold it." (p.46.)

where we have an extraordinary juxtaposition of images, a mixture of anal vulgarity and fragile beauty, the manure and delicacy of spring blossoms which form the antipodes of Mr. Donleavy's world. There is also a sense of movement, a restless searching for the significant experience, an epiphany of the senses; and if we move further on to a more extended passage, just after he has been informed of the death of his parents, we might be able better to enter into the mental world of Sebastian/Smith/Donleavy.

"Out the window the highway dips down under a stone bridge and up on hills stand lavish houses surrounded in grey brown thickets of trees. George Smith's tear fell plop on the paper. Out of a weak left eye. They never had a chance. None of us have. For what. A private telephone like the one in this car. Didn't want to worry me. When Shirl's father died she spat on me. Out of the blue. Right across a table in a drug store. Had I known her better I would have punched her. She was having chocolate soda. Had her father and mother died at once I would need an umbrella. News comes like this, and something is saying I knew all the time. I knew. Just as I went then back to our apartment with Shirl after the spitting and lay on her in the after-

suddenly she bit me and I screamed. She said I hate you." (p.83.)

In this passage we have a piece of extraordinary writing, something much more complex in its implications than is generally so in *The Ginger Man*. Again there is a mixture of violence and tenderness, both seemingly gratuitous and more presented to the characters than achieved by them, descending upon them either as a kind of purgatory or of grace. For it is not just in his use of language that Mr Donleavy is as much an Irishman as an American; nor is it simply blasphemy or moral evasion that has him end *The Ginger Man* with:

"On a winter night I heard horses on a country road, beating sparks out of the stones. I knew they were running away and would be crossing the fields where the pounding would come up into my ears. And I said they are running out to death which is with some soul and their eyes are mad and teeth out.

God's mercy
On the wild
Ginger Man."

or unmitigated comedy when, in *A Singular Man*, he has George Smith say, concerning his hobbies:

"Mine are women, money and religion." (p.325.)

In Sebastian/Smith/Donleavy's world, violence is everywhere. It is irrational and inexplicable - like the violent chance encounters that he has in the tube - and to this extent, Mr Donleavy's view of the world is a religious one. Whether earthly or ethereal, punishment is certain and unavoidable. All one can do is to maintain a little dignity in the face of it, to fortify oneself as best as one might against immediate material assaults, to commit oneself fully to experience, and to pray for grace and

Perhaps Mr Donleavy is asking too much of his readers. Certainly, it was finally with a sense of disappointment that I laid *A Singular Man* down. Even if a kaleidoscopic nihilism is both his theme and style, most of us will need a few more guide-lines to help us through this world. Yet at the same time, it seems pretentious futility for a reviewer to attribute these qualities to carelessness, to complain of faults that any schoolboy could easily have put right. Mr Donleavy seems to be trying to create a kind of novel that has the sweep and immediacy of a lyric poem; and though I'm not too sure about his ultimate success, I too much enjoy what is offered to complain very severely about what is obviously not there.

Deprived of plot and character, then, Mr Donleavy strives to carry us along by the energy and inventiveness of his prose. Little staccato obscenities find their way into passages of measured dignities, and at his most lyrical moments, generally associated with the thought or act of intercourse, his prose descends/ascends into a kind of inspired gibberish, a dionysiac incantation, a procreational litany:

"Feels like an oak. Don't move.
Don't cry."

"I've got to cry. O Jesus. Shake the hair seed out of my hair."

Tomson smiling. Months of dreaming of this sunflower. Opened now. Head rolling, a little ship back and forth on the sea, delicate white nose a sail. Long hands sliding down Smith's back. Clutching over his simple arse. Warble of a bird. Crossed tonight, the wide rambling lobby. Red carpets spreading warm under a black piano, gleaming. Played with sad hands. On your breasts across your chest. Under

fact, the parallels with *The Ginger Man* are extraordinary, parallels not only of style and general attitude but of what we could provisionally call plot and character. For Sebastian Dangerfield, read George Smith; for Kenneth O'Keefe, Boniface Clementine; in place of wife Marion and one awkward baba, we have the troubling presence of wife Shirl and four little brats; and instead of the girls Chris, Miss Frost and Lilly, we find with greater changes, Matilda and Miss Martin, and the resplendent ungraspable, mysterious Miss Sally "Dizzy Darling" Thomson, her dog Goliath, and her fortuitous "yesh."

I take it that it is due largely to this sense of self-repetition that the reviewers have been so unsympathetic with the book. They have tended to write it off too casually, as if they already knew what was there. But this is a mistake. *A Singular Man* is at bottom a very different kind of world, even if eventually, probably an almost equally unsuccessful one.

Further on in the novel, we come upon the following representative passage:

"And we move. Train lights dim. Through the pillars across this tunnel I see other trains. All the late night travellers so sad and I suspect flatulent. Lamps lit on the tables. Wonder why we all bother coming and going. It's the money gentlemen. I

hills stand lavish houses surrounded in grey brown thickets of trees. George Smith's tear fell plop on the paper. Out of a weak left eye. They never had a chance. None of us have. For what. A private telephone like the one in this car. Didn't want to worry me. When Shirl's father died she spat on me. Out of the blue. Right across a table in a drug store. Had I known her better I would have punched her. She was having chocolate soda. Had her father and mother died at once I would need an umbrella. News comes like this, and something is saying I knew all the time. I knew. Just as I went then back to our apartment with Shirl after the spitting and lay on her in the afternoon till she went fast asleep crying and crying. Waking when a warbling bird came pecking at a pot on the window sill. She said hear that sound. I had a hand on her young breast. I said it was a bird dipping in a dish. She said it's my father tapping on a tomb. I listened again. She said it's dark, birds don't come out at nights. I said bats do. And rearing up naked and thin in my arms she said O George it isn't a bat, please tell me it isn't a bat, bats come out for blood and get in your hair and God I don't want that, no. I held her down close beneath me. Just as we'd lain night and nights together clutched. And

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Much more consistently than *The Ginger Man*, *A Singular Man* is studded with images of threat - notes from J. J. & Company, a mysterious colleague in Smith's mysterious business - and sudden acts of destruction - the shooting of a dog, the smashing up of a jaw or a car; as it is strewn with attempts to ward them off. Smith drives about in a bullet-proof limousine, although sometimes in a hearse, while his apartment is defended by a heavy door of surgical steel. Yet finally, all effort is useless: we are conquered in the end; so George Smith's one great preoccupation in life, the only pursuit that we see him actively engaged in, is the construction of a giant mausoleum that will finally keep him safe during "the longest night of all." Death is the end of all existence, its presence is ubiquitous. The experience of a woman is the greatest joy, and money the only means of living an independent dignified existence. All these are given to man, like manna, as if beyond his power to voluntarily achieve them. There is no justice, no rationality, no sense of society, no real sense of other people, except as the source of the sensations they provide. Life is a kind of pilgrimage through filth and ecstasy to that ultimate, ineluctable and meaningless end. Women, money and religion. Sensations, joy and death. J. P. Donleavy's world is thus a fantasy world of moral passivity and his novel a jumble of images from his joy-seeking, paranoiac mind. Which is why I'm out of sympathy with the general tenor of the critical reviews. It is true, demonstrably, that his characters hardly live as characters, that even Sebastian-George-Smith-Dangerfield is, paradoxically, faceless and without a body. It is certainly true that there is little in either novel that could justifiably be called a plot. There is nothing thoroughly constructed, no loose ends tidied up. Events just pass before us as (at least in the imagination) they have before the author.

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Even the erratic punctuation makes some sense when seen as more rhetorical than syntactical, helping to speed us on in a great rush forward, cartwheeling after the often extravagant thought.

Finally, Mr Donleavy's world is a youthfully exuberant one, a world careless of other people or of conventional expectations. It is thus also an adolescently egotistical one, a world really only acceptable with a fully adult seriousness on a level of fantasy, as the dramatisation of an aspect of existence. In this way, *Fairy Tales of New York* can be seen as his most successful work, his tidiest creation, the most completely dramatised, the most easily digestible of what he has done so far.

Returning from Europe with his acquired aristocratic dignity, Cornelius Christian, in four acts, moves from a sense of loss and guilt at the death of his wife, through attempts to deal with society on equal if tentative terms - whether working in a funeral parlour, an advertising department of a large industrial concern, or in the undiluted world of masculine violence that one encounters in the boxing ring - to a plying of the standards of society by upstaging them all.

Although humiliated by the waiters in a fashionable restaurant when wearing peach-coloured shoes, he finds he can gain their full subservience and obsequious attention even though his feet are bare if his toes are sufficiently studded with diamonds. And yet, as he says at the end of the play as he holds up a foot for the inspection of us all: "the colour of this, too, is peach."

Dignity prevails. In this work, too, money is the assumed necessity, and more gently, woman the central experience. Women, money and religion: the fantastic world of J. P. Donleavy.

Peter Harcourt is assistant education officer of the British Film Institute.



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NEHRU'S CONTRIBUTION TO A PEACEFUL WORLD

Geoffrey Carnall

Most politicians have made general statements in favour of peace at one time or another, and they don't usually count for much. In Nehru's case the words did mean something, and he showed it in a way which is always difficult for a politician, and peculiarly so for him. He was a national leader whose political strength lay in his ability to speak to the poverty-stricken peasants of India's villages, creating a sense that something effective could and must be done to improve conditions there. He was a man who enjoyed what he called the "physical and emotional communion" of speaking to large crowds.

"My eyes held those thousands of eyes: we looked at each other, not as strangers meeting for the first time, but of recognition, though of what this was none could say. As I saluted them with a *namaska*, the palms of my hands joined together in front of me, a forest of hands went up in salutation, and a friendly, personal smile appeared on their faces, and a murmur of greeting rose from that assembled multitude and enveloped me in its warm embrace."

Yet in spite of this apparent dependence on popular approval, he was never frightened of facing suspicion and hostility among his own people if that was the price that had to be paid for some bit of peacemaking. I shall never forget the ferocious anger aroused in West Bengal in 1950, when it became clear that he was doing his best to avoid war with Pakistan. More recently, many Indians felt that his heart was never properly in the struggle with China. His

**The Discovery of India*, chap. III section 8. (Meridian Books, 6s.)

mind strayed too readily to talks and negotiations. For years he resisted the idea of invading Goa and the other Portuguese colonies in India, because this would reinforce acceptance of the principle that big countries have the right to dominate smaller countries. "That," he said in 1955, "is a wrong stand. Once we accept the position that we can use the army for the solution of our problems, we cannot deny the same right to other countries."

As the example of Goa shows, Nehru's scruples could be over-ruled. All too easily over-ruled (some will say) when India's sins against the principle of self-determination in Kashmir and Nagaland are taken into account. The problems raised by demands for secession from an imperfectly stabilised state are very real ones, and while one may argue that India's policies towards her northern borderlands have been mistaken, I don't think one can simply condemn them outright. But India could in any case have been more ruthless than she has been in dominating her borders, and still have made a substantial contribution to the development of a peaceful world. Nehru's most striking achievements in international diplomacy have been those where India's national interests were not directly involved.

The comparative isolation India formerly enjoyed from the stresses of the East-West conflict gave Nehru considerable room for manoeuvre. During the 1950s he concentrated on strengthening the "area of peace," building up a resistance to the pressures that led countries to line up with either Russia or America: pressures which, unresisted, would have made the outbreak of a general war more likely.

The high point of India's effectiveness was registered by the Geneva agreement on Indo-China in 1954, and the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in 1955. This last made the idea of non-alignment seem more of a political reality than it had ever done before, although another event that occurred in 1955 proved to be of more enduring im-

portance. It was the General Assembly of the UN, which had the effect of considerably reducing the power of the United States to get the votes it wanted there.

Before that time, India's position had been of peculiar importance, as the only major state able to act as mediator between the communist states and the West. With the development of UN diplomacy of the Hammarskjöld and U Thant era, the Indian contribution ceased to be indispensable. The principle had been well established that, if a crisis threatened to develop into open war, it was the business of states uncommitted in this particular crisis to get to work on a solution which would be acceptable to both parties to the conflict. Given the conditions of the nuclear age, some such mechanism is obviously needed if the human race is to survive. But there can be no doubt of the crucial part played by Nehru himself in getting the mechanism to work.

A characteristic statement of his approach is his speech to the conference of non-aligned countries in Belgrade in September 1961. It was the summer of the Berlin wall, and the Russians had just announced that they were going to resume nuclear testing. Nehru made a plea that everything considered by the conference should take second place to the issue of peace and war.

I have heard it argued that in making his Belgrade speech, Nehru was revealing his essentially reactionary nature - that in stressing the danger of war, he was damping down enthusiasm for the anti-colonial struggle. The argument strikes me as perverse, but one must admit that ever since he became Prime Minister, Nehru always exasperated people who liked a strong line. Not that he wasn't sometimes capable of using strong language, but he simply couldn't keep it up. He was too keenly aware that "merely getting angry with some other country achieves nothing, although one does get angry and cannot help it."

Nehru believed that India's salvation

wise she would pay the penalty of backwardness and be pushed around. He saw her economic development as a kind of mathematical problem, which could be worked out. Nothing prevented an eventual solution except irrelevant conflicts (like inter-provincial and religious rivalries) which exhausted the nation's energies.

There is an illuminating exchange reported in R. K. Karanjia's book *The Mind of Mr Nehru**. Given the chance, said Nehru to Karanjia, Indians made excellent technologists.

"But," he said, "I have a little doubt about our capacity for hard work."

"The capacity is there," said Karanjia, "but it has not been stimulated, organised, and mobilised."

"Maybe, whatever the reason..."

"And that is your default, sir. A call from you and the whole country can be mobilised!"

"Maybe so, maybe so, but there are other factors also besides my own default. Climate and other conditions count. So all that is there, and other uncertain and variable factors too, which can be got over. Only it takes time."

Karanjia's disappointment in not hearing a call that would mobilise the whole country is typical of the disappointment that has been uttered by the many Indians who complain about Nehru's Hamlet-like indecisiveness. They hankered for the days when Nehru swept up and down the country calling for an end to British rule, the establishment of a real people's rule, and an end to poverty and misery. But when one comes to the actual business of doing this, especially in a subcontinent whose potential for intense and bitter conflict is unlimited, Nehru's confusing awareness of complexity seems a good deal closer to real life than the nostalgia of his critics.

What is true of India is equally true of the world as a whole. Perhaps Nehru's most useful bequest to the world is an example of the temper of mind needed when mankind is in a crisis.

John Arden
Paying for

the price that had to be paid for some bit of peacemaking. I shall never forget the ferocious anger aroused in West Bengal in 1950, when it became clear that he was doing his best to avoid war with Pakistan. More recently, many Indians felt that his heart was never properly in the struggle with China. His

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John Arden Paying for truth

Pontius Pilate, poor man, was troubled about truth: and although I do not think he really meant his famous question to be taken as a joke, he did not seem to expect an answer worthy of his attention as an important governmental figure. He was quite content to accept that truth lay with the "realists" - i.e. the people who could exert the greatest political pressure at a given time or place.

I am a playwright and truth is important to me. In order to obtain material for my work I have to read a great many newspapers: but newspapers in general are "realistic" and opportunist. They tend to ignore or distort a number of very important aspects of our world because their readers might find them uncomfortable. As the world itself is uncomfortable, this means of course that the truth is presented, if at all, in a very partial fashion.

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enjoyed the stresses of the East-West conflict gave Nehru considerable room for manoeuvre. During the 1950s he concentrated on strengthening the "area of peace," building up a resistance to the pressures that led countries to line up with either Russia or America: pressures which, unresisted, would have made the outbreak of a general war more likely.

The high point of India's effectiveness was registered by the Geneva agreement on Indo-China in 1954, and the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries in 1955. This last made the idea of non-alignment seem more of a political reality than it had ever done before, although another event that occurred in 1955 proved to be of more enduring importance in breaking up the rigidity of cold war attitudes. This was the admission of a number of new states to the

the issue of peace and war. I have heard it argued that in making his Belgrade speech, Nehru was revealing his essentially reactionary nature - that in stressing the danger of war, he was damping down enthusiasm for the anti-colonial struggle. The argument strikes me as perverse, but one must admit that ever since he became Prime Minister, Nehru always exasperated people who liked a strong line. Not that he wasn't sometimes capable of using strong language, but he simply couldn't keep it up. He was too keenly aware that "merely getting angry with some other country achieves nothing, although one does get angry and cannot help it."

Nehru believed that India's salvation, like that of all the poorer nations of the world, lay in getting economically abreast of the wealthier nations. Other-

that has been uttered by the many Indians who complain about Nehru's Hamlet-like indecisiveness. They hankered for the days when Nehru swept up and down the country calling for an end to British rule, the establishment of a real people's rule, and an end to poverty and misery. But when one comes to the actual business of doing this, especially in a subcontinent whose potential for intense and bitter conflict is unlimited, Nehru's confusing awareness of complexity seems a good deal closer to real life than the nostalgia of his critics.

What is true of India is equally true of the world as a whole. Perhaps Nehru's most useful bequest to the world is an example of the temper of mind needed when mankind is in serious danger of blowing itself to bits.

*George Allen and Unwin, 10s 6d.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Vietnam

Adam Roberts' interesting article on Vietnam (May 15) suggests that we should devise new non-military methods to stop the Viet Cong. But surely the point is that we should be trying to stop the war. The majority of the people seem to prefer the Viet Cong to anything else, and the overwhelming majority would probably agree with the student who said if the twenty-year-old war stopped he wouldn't mind what kind of government he got.

Viet Cong tactics are as dirty as those of the troops who oppose them, no doubt. But I think it's going too far to imply, as you do of the Huks in the Philippines too, that the Viet Cong only take up the people's grievances opportunistically. Most of the people's grievances are genuine, and some of the Viet Cong support for the people is genuine too. Incidentally, the Huks in the Philippines may have been smashed, but most of the injustices and inequalities they rightly fought against go on unrighted still.

Socialism is needed in this region to complete the revolution begun with political independence. The kind of war fought in Vietnam, by its polarising effect, eliminates all kinds of socialism except the Communist brand. But it doesn't eliminate the need for socialism.

Malcolm Caldwell,
Department of History,
University of Malaya,
Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Adam Roberts writes: I agree that we should be trying to stop the war in Vietnam, but I think it dangerous to equate

that demand, as is frequently done, with acceptance of a victory by the Viet Cong. Although I did not "imply . . . that the Viet Cong only take up the people's grievances opportunistically," as Malcolm Caldwell suggests, I did say that the Viet Cong have partly gained their support by terror tactics, and that there is considerable North Vietnamese control over them. The possibility that the Viet Cong would make South Vietnam as dictatorial a state as North Vietnam is among the factors making it necessary that some means of combating them be developed. It goes without saying that there are many dictatorial and repressive aspects of the present South Vietnamese government which also need to be opposed.

The student mentioned in Malcolm Caldwell's letter expresses an attitude of disillusionment which is apparently widespread in South Vietnam. But it is not true that the war has been going on for twenty years - the war in South Vietnam only really started some five years ago, and it was five years before that that the war against the French ended. Some signs that political disillusionment in Vietnam is not complete include the campaign of the Buddhists against Diem, and I cited in my article the case of the Buddhists who had fled from North Vietnam and now oppose a neutralist solution. These people, and many others, will probably support the ultimate sanction of war unless and until alternative means of struggle are developed.

Nine more

We were amused to find that the professional anti-Communists have been

busy again, this time in compiling a rather obvious list of 180 people whom they regard as dangerous left wing influences. To our certain knowledge there are nine more names which could have been included, and so to help Common Cause achieve a more comprehensive coverage we have written to them as follows:

"We are distressed to see that our names have been left off the list of 180 dangerous Communists which you have recently circulated. We have traditionally been associated with all of the movements and activities which Shelagh Delaney, Bertrand Russell and Miles Malleon, even Sean O'Casey, have dominated by their public eminence. Indeed we rank and file are the mainstay of every progressive movement upon whom your dangerous Communists depend, and it is mere celebrity hunting on your part to have been so exclusive in your choice. We trust that in future editions of your list our names will take their natural place alongside those we so warmly support."

With a little enthusiasm the Common Cause list could be expanded into a register of the righteous, and we foresee the day when speakers in the house of Commons are howled down as McCarthyists because their names have inadvertently been omitted.

John Garforth, Anne Trevett,
Catherine McDonald, Susanna Dawson,
Gillian Rawlings, Maureen Laird,
Catherine Harris, Michael Gorman,
John Staley,
4 Antrim Grove, London N.W.3.

Lancashire CND's lusty ghosts

Stella Johnson reports: Over 1,200 attended last Friday's North West Regional Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament rally at Manchester Free Trade Hall - compared with 600 the previous year. One need not say any more about the exuberant health of CND in the region.

The platform rose to the mood of the meeting, especially to the mood of the hundreds of youth campaigners thronging the galleries. It was the time for good old-fashioned ban-the-bomb talk, for an honest appraisal of the relationship of the Campaign and the Labour Party and for unashamed recognition

that the moral argument is the toughest strand in the line that draws and binds the campaigner.

Councillor Mrs E. Wormald, Chairman of Liverpool Education Committee, opened the meeting with a nice slapping-down of the youth critics who had been rushing into print during the last few weeks. Donald Soper took up the same theme. CND must keep its vision of the world as it could be and provide a sense of purpose for young people. There must be no slackening-off with the return of a Labour government. There was a lot of conversion work to be done in the Labour ranks.

Judith Cook described the recent women's Hague demonstration and attacked the cult of "potted problems." People were human beings and not just part of a youth problem, a housing problem, an education problem. Women must fight against a society based on the fear of instant incineration and the willingness to massacre the children of other countries.

Stan Broadbridge, Chairman of the North West Region, said that we must ensure that nuclear weapons were an election issue. CND was not just a left-wing organisation. It must press its policy on every party. The multilateral force into which nations were drifting in order to prevent West Germany from having nuclear weapons was the one

certain way of making sure Germany did have nuclear weapons.

Michael Foot pointed out the impossibility of divorcing the Campaign from politics. Only a government could implement CND policy and the Labour Party and the Campaign did not agree about NATO. But NATO was getting weaker and weaker and we must make sure that whatever alliance replaced it would not be a nuclear one. "The worst danger lies in the complacent belief that the balance of terror has prevented war. If you believe that then it is logical to oppose any form of disarmament scheme." He paid tribute to Nehru - "one of the greatest men who ever lived."

Olive Gibbs, on her first visit to the region, spoke directly to the youth-packed galleries: "We need you. We need your vision and your courage." She too stressed the point at which Labour and Campaign policy parted company. The job of CND at the election was to do what the political parties did not do - to make sure the voice of morality was heard. If a Labour government was returned we must make sure they know how we feel about poverty and disease and hunger in the world, about a country that separates children into sheep and goats at the age of eleven and where there is never enough money for education and housing but always enough for the bomb.

Manchester-based Granada TV announced a couple of months ago that "CND was dead at last" and have insisted under repeated pressure that this was fair comment. Local youth campaigners marched to the Free Trade Hall meeting by way of the Granada building - a healthy bunch of skeletons. We breed some grand and lusty ghosts up in Lancashire.

Survivors of the bomb arrive next week

The "hibakusha," a group of survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who are on a world tour to promote peace and understanding, will arrive in Britain next Monday, June 8. The National Peace Council has made arrangements for them to visit several schools, hospitals and new towns on that day. The next day they are to visit the House of Commons, where they will give a press conference at 11 a.m. In the evening of June 9 the "hibakusha" will be present at a public meeting to be held in the Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, at 7.30 p.m., where 5 or 6 of them will be speaking.

Not all the 26 members of the group will come to Britain as about half a dozen of them are staying on in America to attend a special meeting arranged for them at the Carnegie Hall. Six of the "hibakusha" are expected in Brussels on June 12; they will be touring through the main centres of both French and Flemish speaking Belgium. An attempt is being made to persuade the King of Belgium, who visited Hiroshima earlier this year, to receive the "hibakusha."

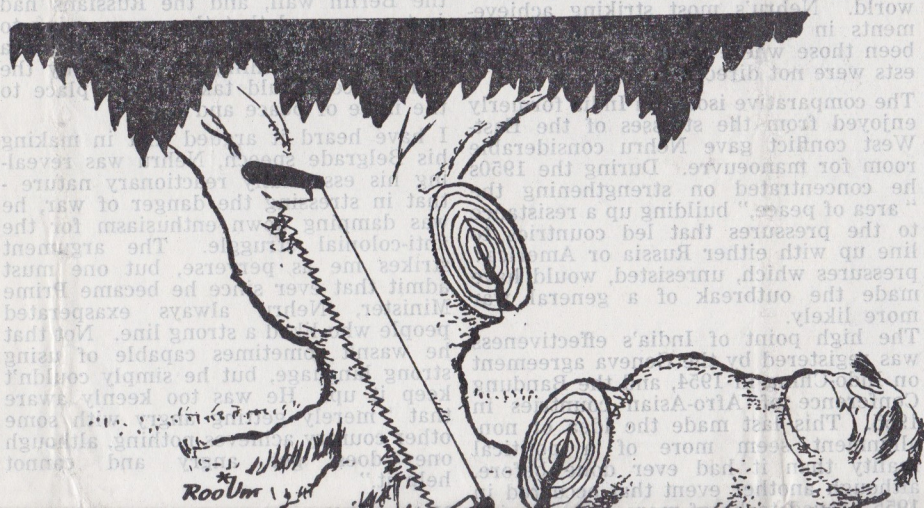
Buddhists parade in Vietnam

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The *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon reported that in the celebrations "Buddhist leaders and faithful reasserted their claims to be an independent force in South Vietnam . . . Solemn services and demonstrations gave testimony to the mass strength, discipline and solidarity of Buddhist peoples in a war-weary nation plagued by civic apathy."

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In a leaflet the Young Socialists say that they are protesting against the death of British soldiers unnecessarily sent to Aden by the Government to defend oil companies' profits, the bombing of unarmed native villages, the suppression of a rebellion against reactionary feudal chiefs and the imprisonment of trade union and Socialist leaders in the town of Aden. The demonstration is also to voice objection to the apparent support for government policies by the Labour leadership. The young Socialists call upon the Labour Party to take a firm stand against the suppression of a national liberation movement. They call upon the Government to close the base and bring the troops home.

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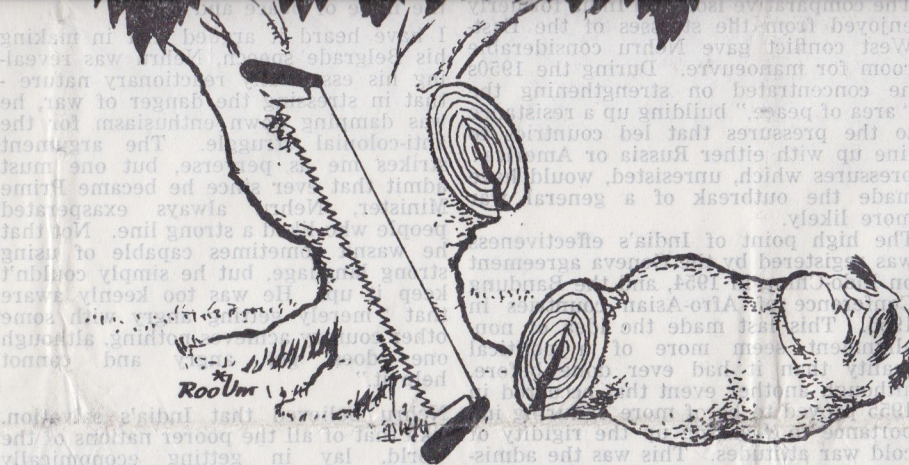
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Mr Sykes contends that the origin of a world-wide shattering event with almost unprecedented repercussions on our own lives is becoming incomprehensible through complexity. He believes that this assembly of qualified and sensitive minds will show the tragedy of 1914 "in the round" and help listeners to form at least some sort of interpretation. On the anniversary of the outbreak of World War I, August 4, a performance of Benjamin Britten's "War Requiem" will be given in the promenade concert at the Royal Albert Hall and relayed in the Home Service and BBC-2.

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Stormy debate at Dudley

Arthur Taylor reports: Seventy people filled Friends Meeting House, Dudley, last Friday for a debate on nuclear disarmament led by a Conservative, a Liberal and two CND supporters. The evening was sunny but ended with a thunderstorm. The meeting took a similar course.

Alderman Peter Griffiths, Conservative parliamentary candidate for Smethwick, who recently made national headlines in the "If you want a nigger neighbour, vote Labour" row with Harold Wilson, put the conventional case for the British bomb. The basis of this being to buy time while controlled disarmament is negotiated, to prevent nuclear blackmail of Britain, and so on. He made the rather extraordinary claim that it was only because Britain had the bomb that we were able to go forward independently with the Suez operation.

Ivan Geffen, a director of *Peace News*, was quick to point out that the Russian bomb obviously did not deter us at Suez, yet Mr Griffiths was claiming that the British bomb was deterring the Russians. We must beware, added Ivan Geffen, of thinking that Communists were not capable of being reasonable. Moral rearmers, and others who were constantly urging us to roll back Communism, terrified him. We have to learn to live with governments we dislike.

Liberal Brian King was against the British bomb and for a world authority. He developed a somewhat odd idea that membership of NATO brought world

government nearer as it brought nations closer together.

Several speakers from the floor questioned this idea and urged that a neutral Britain would wield much more influence in world affairs. The audience was obviously worried by the present position of CND. The fact that Britain was now virtually without the bomb had left the movement floundering. Apart from Ivan Geffen's advocacy of civilian defence by non-violence, nothing more constructive emerged from the discussion than that it would be unwise for CND to put up parliamentary candidates. All the speakers from the floor favoured CND. It was a pity that the young conservatives present sat mum.

Summing up, Ivan Geffen pointed out that our freedoms are already diminishing as we prepare for war. The philosophy of "Why behave today if you are going to die tomorrow?" may have some bearing on recent seaside disturbances. As long as we have the bomb we have no moral authority to say this is right and that is wrong, and the values we prize in our society will become increasingly worthless.

Peter Griffiths made no attempt to answer the arguments. Seldom can CND supporters have been told to their faces in such vitriolic terms what the Right thinks of them. In terms heavily charged with emotion, he eulogised patriotism and those who had died so that those present "could have the freedom to sit and snigger."

Once in whitehall.

In a leaflet the Young Socialists say that they are protesting against the death of British soldiers unnecessarily sent to Aden by the Government to defend oil companies' profits, the bombing of unarmed native villages, the suppression of a rebellion against reactionary feudal chiefs and the imprisonment of trade union and Socialist leaders in the town of Aden. The demonstration is also to voice objection to the apparent support for government policies by the Labour leadership. The young Socialists call upon the Labour Party to take a firm stand against the suppression of a national liberation movement. They call upon the Government to close the base and bring the troops home.

Masters reprieved

Twenty-two-year-old Joseph Masters was granted a reprieve by Mr Henry Brooke, the Home Secretary, last Tuesday. He was to have been hanged on June 5. The reprieve followed protest demonstrations and petitions on Masters' behalf by the Bristol branch of the National Campaign for the Abolition of Capital Punishment and members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and other individuals. Last Monday afternoon a deputation visited the Home Office and four women from the group were granted an interview with a Home Office official. The deputation left an appeal for mercy with 2,000 signatures.

When news of the reprieve was heard on Tuesday a group of five people, including Roger Moody, secretary of the Bristol branch of the NCACP, and Mrs Anne Kerr, London County Councillor, delivered a letter to the Home Office for Mr Brooke, which was accepted by his Parliamentary Private Secretary. The letter expressed gratitude for Mr Brooke's decision which the signatories had been sure he would reach, having regard to the feelings of responsible people. It also expressed the hope that he would now be encouraged to grant reprieves in all such cases.

Ambatielos welcome

A meeting to welcome Tony and Betty Ambatielos to Britain following Mr Ambatielos's release from prison in Greece after more than 16 years is being organised by the Committee for the Release of Greek Political Prisoners. The meeting will be at the Central Hall, Westminster, on Friday, June 19, at 7 p.m. The speakers will be Percy Belcher, Marcus Lipton MP, and D. N. Pritt QC, and there will be Greek songs and dances.

Peter Moule

March of victory from Marathon to Athens

May 17, 1964, was the occasion of the largest peace march to have been held in Greece. Tens of thousands marched the full 26 miles from Marathon to Athens, and it was estimated that 300,000 took part in the final rally. The demonstration was organised by an ad hoc committee containing many other bodies besides the organisers of last year's march, the Bertrand Russell Youth Society for Nuclear Disarmament. The organising committee included the Gregory Lambrakis Committee, the Greek Peace Committee, the National Union of Greek Students, and the Greek Committee for Peace and Friendship in the Balkans.

Invitations to take part in the march were sent to the main British peace organisations, but none responded. Because of this it is worth recalling the events in Greece and England over the last year for the benefit of those who did not think it worthwhile to send representatives.

Late in 1962, inspired by the work of Bertrand Russell and the British nuclear disarmament movement, a small group of young people in Greece formed the Bertrand Russell Youth Society for Nuclear Disarmament. They proposed to hold a peace march from Marathon to Athens, but the Karamanlis Government banned it. Nevertheless the Russell Committee went ahead as planned. About 2,000 people were arrested, among them a group of British nuclear disarmers including Pat Pottle, who was deported and banned from Greece for life.

The only person who completed the 26-mile march was a Greek independent MP, Gregory Lambrakis. Two months later, in Salonika, he was murdered. Well over half a million people took part in the procession at his funeral.

The murder of Lambrakis and the demonstrations organised in England at the time of Queen Frederika's state visit were largely responsible for the downfall of the Karamanlis Government, which made possible the subsequent release of political prisoners and the social and political changes.

It was because no organisation responded to the Greek invitation that Pat Pottle, Dennis Gould, Douglas Brewood Jnr and I decided to go.

Because of the ban on Pat Pottle and the refusal last summer to let the Com-



march. It was a march of victory, victory for a people who after years of political struggle were now able to express themselves. This was evident in

thousands of people chanting "Lambrakis lives, Lambrakis lives, Lambrakis marches with us," it gives some idea of the tremendous feeling towards him. It

"Even when an hour-long tropical rainstorm turned the road into a river the marchers continued on

Unions condemn ban on Lutuli

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sent a cable on May 24 to Dr Verwoerd, the Prime Minister of South Africa, urging him to rescind the new five-year ban imposed on Nobel Peace Prize-winner ex-Chief Albert Lutuli. A report in the South African paper *Natal Mercury* quotes a confederation communique which said:

"This ban imposed for the second time on May 24 condemns Lutuli virtually to silence - no word of his may be published in any South African newspaper or magazine, he may not attend or address any meeting, and may not be in company of more than two persons."

The cable "protests vigorously on behalf of the international free trade union movement against this particular outrageous treatment of a man who has received the highest world award for action in the interests of peace." The *Mercury* reported a further criticism of the ban on May 26, quoting Mr Peter Brown, national chairman of the Liberal Party of South Africa, who described the ban as "blind and senseless." Mr Brown said that the reimposition of the banning order was not surprising in view of the way the Minister of Justice used his powers. "We do not know what the next five years will hold for South Africa, but we certainly cannot afford to spend them without the benefit of Chief Lutuli's presence in our public life."

Kloppenburg appeal adjourned again

Judgment was reserved in the Supreme Court, Pietermaritzburg, Natal, on May 21 in an appeal by Theodore Kloppenburg, the South African pacifist, against a banning order imposed on him last year by the Minister of Justice, Mr B. J. Vorster.

An appeal against the order was dismissed by Mr Justice Henning in Durban last year. At the time Mr Kloppenburg asked that reasons should be given to him for the two notices served on him and the information which induced them. The appeal on May 21 was heard by the Acting Judge-President, Mr Justice Caney, Mr Justice Fannin, and Mr Justice Harcourt.

Mr Kloppenburg wrote to *Peace News* on May 26 that since the Supreme Court hearing he has appeared in the Durban Magistrates' Court, but as he expected, the hearing was once more adjourned until June 25. He says that on behalf of the Minister of Justice the following reasons for the banning order were

between the COs in Switzerland and the regulations and conditions in their own country; willing to do hard manual work; and anxious to act in solidarity with their fellow war resisters in Switzerland.

The only concession to COs in Switzerland is the possibility of non-combatant duties while in the services. Those who refuse to collaborate to this extent can receive up to 3 years' imprisonment and the sentences are repeated if the victim persists in his objection. The courts have power to give minimum sentences of 3 days' imprisonment or one day's detention but they rarely exercise it. The sentences are usually much longer.

Jean-Jacques Tschumi, an architect from Geneva, was sentenced to 75 days' detention by a military tribunal on April 9; this was his second sentence. On the first occasion he was deprived of liberty for 2 months.

The WRI say that the purpose of the work camp will be to demonstrate that Swiss COs, while they are not willing to bear arms, are ready to help the national and international community in a positive way. International participation in the work camp and seminar will provide opportunities for creative discussion between COs with different ideas and many different backgrounds; it will help to acquaint both the Swiss peace movement and public with the status and treatment of COs in other countries, and will serve as a focal point for national publicity.

The project will take place from July 19 to August 1 at Hospental, which is at an altitude of 1,200 metres in the Canton of Uri. The Service Civil International will be responsible for the work camp; the work will be to make a country road.

Demand refused

Patricia Millwood reports from Geneva: A Socialist motion to grant conscientious objectors the right to alternative service was turned down by the Swiss Federal Parliament on May 13, by 107 votes to 27.

Demands for a special statute for COs have been voiced in Switzerland for over 60 years, but they have always been rejected, since they have never gained enough parliamentary support.

A letter signed by over 200 people in the canton of Neuchâtel has been sent to the Federal Government alerting the authorities and the public that "if in the course of 1964 no acceptable solution has been found, other action - short of violence - will be taken."

Atom scientist Leo Szilard dies

Dr Leo Szilard, the nuclear physicist who played an important part in the development of the atomic bomb, died in La Jolla, California, last Saturday. He was 66.

Dr Szilard was one of the men who in 1939, with Einstein, warned President Roosevelt about the possibility

of a nuclear war. He was a Hungarian-born Jew, and fled to the United States in 1935. He was a member of the Manhattan Project, and was one of the scientists who designed the atomic bomb. He was a peace activist, and was one of the scientists who warned about the dangers of nuclear war.

and the regulations and conditions in their own country; willing to do hard manual work; and anxious to act in solidarity with their fellow war resisters in Switzerland.

Anyone with the necessary qualifications who is interested in the project should write to: WRI Secretariat, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.

HEINZ BRANDT RELEASED



Heinz Brandt, the West German journalist who has been released from jail in East Germany, is greeted by his wife on his arrival at Frankfurt airport on May 28. He had served three years of his 13-year sentence for spying.

dence and by a wave of horror sweeping over the rest of the world and perhaps even dividing public opinion at home."

After the war, Szilard devoted himself to warnings against the military control of nuclear power, the development of the hydrogen bomb, and the vast stockpiles of nuclear weapons. He was a

in Vietnam

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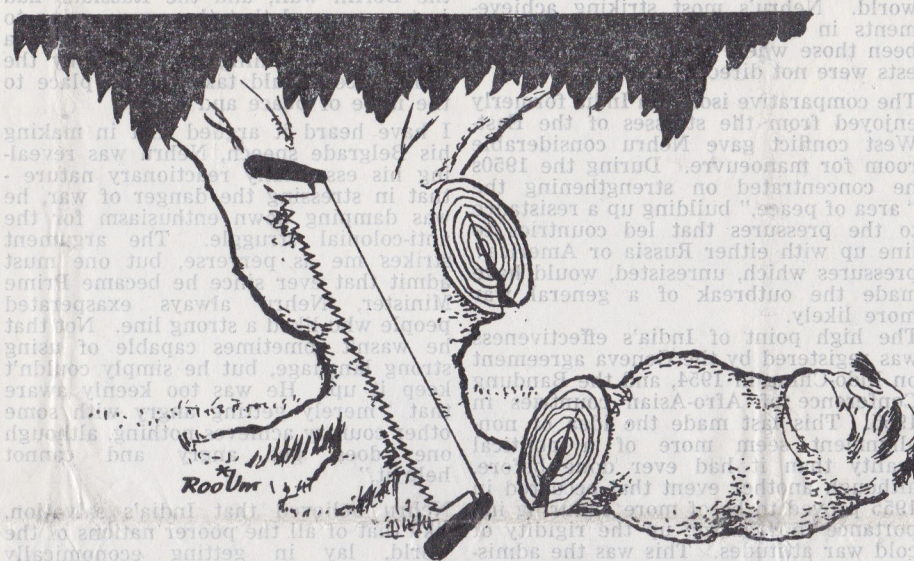
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